

**D E S C R I P T I O N**  
**OF THE**  
*P L A I N O F T R O R:*  
**WITH A**  
**M A P O F T H A T R E G I O N.**

DESCRIPTION  
OF THE  
PLAIN OF TROY:  
WITH A  
MAP OF THAT REGION,  
DELINEATED FROM AN ACTUAL SURVEY.

Read in French before the ROYAL SOCIETY of EDINBURGH,  
Feb. 21. and 28. and March 21. 1791.

BY THE AUTHOR M. CHEVALIER, FELLOW OF THAT SOCIETY,  
AND OF THE ACADEMIES OF METZ, CASSEL AND ROME.

Translated from the Original not yet published,  
And the Version accompanied with NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS,  
BY ANDREW DALZEL, M.A. F.R.S. EDIN.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN  
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*Hac ibat Simois; hic est Sigœia tellus;  
Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.  
Illic Æacides, illic tendebat Ulysses;  
Hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.* OVID.

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE ingenious Author of the following Memoir, during a residence of six months in Edinburgh, was distinguished by the variety of his knowledge, the vivacity of his conversation, and the agreeableness of his manners. He soon acquired the friendship of many persons of eminence, and his society was particularly acceptable to the Men of Letters in this city. To all such the account he gave of his travels in Greece and among the Greek islands could not fail of being highly pleasing; but their attention was  
a. chiefly.

chiefly attracted by the history of his researches and discoveries in the Plain of Troy, which he had repeatedly visited, and of which he had taken an accurate survey.

The present state of that once renowned region, the mention of which recalls to a classical imagination so many pleasing ideas, had never been explained with any sort of accuracy. Travellers indeed, both ancient and modern, had occasionally been there; but from various causes, which the Reader will find explained in the ensuing Memoir, they had all failed of giving proper satisfaction on this interesting subject.

One modern traveller in particular, I mean the late Mr Robert Wood, from whom much was expected, and who published the result of his enquiries under the title of *A Comparative View of the ancient and present State of the Troade*, had been extremely unsuccessful in his researches. Instead of elucidating the subject, he seemed to have involved it in greater  
obscurity



obscurity than ever ; and he, who had the highest admiration of Homer, and who found that great Poet agreeing with Nature every where else, was reduced to the mortifying necessity of acknowledging that he could find scarce any resemblance betwixt the pictures in the Iliad, and that part of a country which we may suppose the Poet would have been careful to describe with more than ordinary precision. Such a publication, by throwing a thick cloud over this portion of classic ground, had the effect of exciting in the mind of every elegant scholar nothing but sensations of disappointment and regret.

When M. Chevalier privately communicated to some of the Members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh an account of the success of his travels in the Troad, and pointed out to them how exactly he found the present appearance of that country still to accord with the descriptions and incidents in the Poems of Homer, they were, as may be supposed, highly gratified ; and they encouraged the  
the

the Author to lay his researches before the public Meetings of the Society.

Accordingly he read the following Memoir and exhibited his own delineation of the region which he described, at several of those Meetings, with great approbation; and the Committee appointed for publishing papers, soon after, unanimously judged them highly deserving of a place in the next volume of the Society's Transactions. They were of opinion that the Memoir should be printed first of the Papers of the Literary Class, and that the Author should be furnished with some separate copies, to give him an opportunity of obliging his particular friends with a perusal of his ingenious work long before the complete volume of Transactions could be laid before the Public.

In the mean time, to prevent all hazard which this might occasion, of the appearance of any negligent and surreptitious Translation, the Committee  
thought

thought proper to have a Version published under their own inspection, before the Original should be printed ; and as the execution of this seemed to devolve upon me more naturally than on any other Member of the Society, I did not decline, but most readily undertook the task ; especially as the Author had done me the honour to express how agreeable it would be to him that I should not only translate his paper, but likewise adjust all the references, produce the proper quotations from ancient authors, accompany the translation with Notes and Illustrations, and prepare the whole work for the press.

This I promised to the Author to perform when he was about to leave Edinburgh some months ago ; and though I have found the discharging of my engagement much more laborious than I had at first apprehended, I proceeded with alacrity in the work, in hopes that I was doing an acceptable service to every classical scholar, and to every admirer of the genius of Homer.



In the addition of the Notes and Illustrations, I was particularly animated by the advice and approbation of two of my learned colleagues and much respected friends, Mr Frazer-Tytler, Professor of Civil History, and Mr Playfair, Professor of Mathematics, both of whom had taken a very early and warm interest in the fate of this Paper, and had been among the foremost to discern the merit of the Author, and to encourage him to lay the fruit of his labours before the Royal Society.

With respect to quotations from ancient authors, instead of introducing into a translation from the French all the passages in the original languages at full length, which, if it had been done, must have incurred the censure of pedantry, if not inconsistency, it was thought that, for the most part, references to these would be quite sufficient for the Learned; but that to give a considerable number of them in English, was requisite for making this Dissertation intelligible and entertaining to such readers as have

no



no other acquaintance with Homer than through the medium of a translation. At the same time, if I may have been tempted now and then to indulge myself,—and I hope the classical reader, with the complete detail of a passage in Greek or Latin, where it was not absolutely necessary, I shall not, I trust, be censured with much asperity.

A. D.

EDIN. COLL. }  
SEPT. 1. 1791. }

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## POSTSCRIPT TO THE PREFACE

EDINBURGH, FEB. 29. 1792.

THE following Memoir was printed several months ago; but as the principal Map was not till lately finished by the engraver, the publication was necessarily delayed. In the mean time, the politeness of his Excellency Baron de Alvensleben, the Hanoverian Ambassador at London, enabled me to transmit a copy to the author; who happened to be at Gottingen. The celebrated Mr Heyne, the ornament of that University, having expressed a desire to peruse the performance, the author most readily submitted it to his examination, and had the satisfaction to find, that he not only highly approved of it, but proposed to translate it into German, and publish it in that language. They both, however, agreed in thinking it proper, that this proposal should be communicated to the Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whose consent they considered to be necessary, as the Memoir had not yet been published by authority of that Committee, either in the original French or in English. This, as may be supposed, was easily obtained, especially as it did not appear probable, that the German translation could be finished previous to the time of publishing the English.

Information of this being immediately conveyed to the author, he communicated it to Mr Heyne; and as I understood, that the latter of those gentlemen had signified a desire to correspond with me upon the subject of the Memoir and the Maps, I was glad to embrace such an opportunity. I therefore wrote a letter to Mr Heyne, and was just going to dispatch it, when I had the honour of receiving one from that eminent Scholar. It has been thought proper to subjoin the correspondence here; more especially as Mr Heyne's postscript contains information which cannot fail to give the highest satisfaction to the learned reader.

Mr.

## MR HEYNE'S LÉTTER to Mr DALZEL.

QUÆ res, vir clarissime, admodum sollicitum ac suspensum me habuit, ex quo V. I. Lechevalier mihi significaverat, se de consilio meo commentationis ab eo perscriptæ in sermonem Germanicum vertendæ ad Vos esse relaturum; eam nunc audio ita esse transactam, ut non modo omni sollicitudine me liberatum, verum etiam magna lætitiâ affectum esse sentiam. Ea enim cum humanitate ac benevolentia meam rogationem admisisti, ut admiratione atque amore Tui haud parum me contactum profitear. Retulisti de consilio meo ad Societatem Illustrem, et voluntatem ejus es expertus tam facilem ac proclivem, ut nuntiatum mihi sit ab amico nostro communi, licere consilium exsequi, et bona cum venia vestra cum ipsam ejus commentationem, tum notas tuas doctissimas Germanice conversas in publicum edere; nec Vos intercidere, quo minus tabularum geographicarum exemplum ab artifice nostrate expressum adjiciendum curem. Agnosco in his veræ gloriæ studio Vos teneri, cum vestrarum curarum fructum et laudem aliis non invidetis sed liberaliter impertiatis etiam extero et vobis vix nomine noto homini; etsi nec minus sentio, hac ipsa vestra facilitate judicii vestri de me significationem admodum honorificam esse factam, annitendumque mihi esse in ipsa interpretatione operis curanda, ne expectationem vestram diligentiae fefellisse videar. Qua in re, cum officio meo satisfacere videar, rogatum Te esse volo, vir clarissime, ut Viris præstantissimis gratam meam mentem testeris; et ut Tu ipse paratum me ad omne officiorum genus, Tuique studiosissimum habeas. Scr. Gottingæ, d. xxv. Jan. 1792.

CHR. G. HEYNE.

Ignosces si literas Latine exaratas ad Te dedi; nam Anglici sermonis usum satis expeditum non habeam. Tu, si voles aliquid rescribere, uteris sermone seu Anglico, seu Gallico, seu Latino, ut libuerit.

Me in nova Homeri recensione esse occupatum, ad Virgilii mei exemplum adornanda, accepisti forte auditum a Lechevalierio nostro; hoc illud est quod ad iter ejus in Troadem factum animum meum maxime convertit.

Mr



MR DALZEL'S LETTER to Mr HEYNE, written, but not sent, before the receipt of the above. The Answer to Mr HEYNE's Letter is contained in the Postscript.

Viro eruditissimo CHR. G. HEYNE  
ANDREAS DALZEL S.

QUUM nuper a Chevalerio, viro ingenioso mihique amicissimo, certior factus fui, Heyni eruditissime atque celeberrime, Te interpretationem meam Anglicanam libelli sui de *Campo ubi Troja fuit*, meis qualibuscunque annotationibus instructam, legisse, laboremque tum ipsius auctoris tum interpretis comprobâsse, equidem magnopere lætatus sum; gaudiumque meum auctum sensi, simul ac spem ab auctore conceptam intellexerim fore ut Tu ipse commentationem suam cultu Germanico donares. Nam et illi, cui omnia ut feliciter eveniant vehementer opto, eum nactum fuisse interpretem quem docta Germania atque universa Respublica literaria, tanquam omnis politioris doctrinæ decus ac tutamen, tamdiu respexerint, magnum famæ incrementum; et mihi ipsi, talem tantumque virum collegam et adiutorem in eadem provincia fortitum esse, insignem honorem allaturum persentire visus sum. Festinabam igitur, per literas ad amicum nostrum datas, scrupulum illum amovere, quo te teneri audiveram ne si commentationem hanc in Germanicum a Te conversam ederes, antequam apud nos interpretatio mea publici juris facta foret, falcem tuam in messem alienam immisisse videreris.

Porro, quum ex literis etiam amici nostri accepissem, Te scire cupientem an satis ampla copia exemplarium tabularum geographicarum, (quæ sunt pars omnino necessaria hujus operis) ad interpretationem tuam Germanicam instruendam, Tibi ex Anglia suppeditari posset, scire simul cupere possetne per epistolas mecum de hac re agi, nefas fore duxi talem negligere occasionem ultro oblatam scribendi ad virum quem jampridem admirari soleo. Quo autem facilius Tibi satisfacerem, scripsi illico ad bibliopolam Londinensem, editorem interpretationis meæ, et qui campi Trojani grandem tabulam geographicam, a Chevalerio nostro delineatam, Londini ære incidendam curat, ad cognoscendum quid ille de hac re censeret. Interea mea ipsius opinio est, ut simul ac ad manus tuas venerint singula tabularum exemplaria, quæ ad Te mittenda quam primum curabo, (et habes jam tabulas Popii et Wodii) facillimum erit alicui sculptori Germanico eorum accuratam imitationem exhibere. Primum specimen tabulæ præcipuæ, quod ad me nuper corrigendum missum fuerat, ante decem tantum hosce dies Londinum remisi. Artifex quidem pulcherrime navavit operam; sed  
propter



propter cunctationem ejus, qui est mos horum hominum, libellus nondum publici juris factus est; prodibit tamen, ut spero, propediem.

Pergas interea, vir celeberrime, interpretationem tuam conficere; Teque sospitet Deus O. M. ad opera multo majora molienda, ut Georgiæ tuæ Augustæ, adeoque totius Reipublicæ literariæ magnum ornamentum diu vigeas. Vale, Tuque me observantissimum crede. Scr. Edinburgi, in Acad. Jacobi VI. Scotorum Regis, d. xvii. Feb. 1792.

HACTENUS scripseram, et jam in eo eram, vir eruditissime, ut hæc ad Te dimitterem, quum ad manus meas allatæ essent jucundissimæ tuæ literæ. Gaudeo equidem audire Te omni sollicitudine jam esse liberatum, per ea quæ cum Chevalerio nostro communicaveram, Teque nunc sine mora tuum exsequi consilium descriptionis Troadis Germanice vertendæ; quam non solum vertes, verum etiam, ut spero, annotationibus propriis locupletandam curabis, quod magno emolumento operi certe erit.

Magnæ sunt a me Tibi debitæ gratiæ, propter amorem et laudes quibus me prosequi dignatus sis, quibus autem quam sim indignus abunde sentio. Primam occasionem arripiam referendi ad Senatum Societatis Regiæ Edinburgensis de benevolentia qua ejus exceperis observantiam erga Te hominem quidem exterum, nequaquam tamen ignotum, ut Tu de Teipso nimis modeste loqueris; quis enim est usquam gentium paulo humanior, ad quem fama eruditissimi Heynii nondum pervenerit? Alia tua multa egregia opera, præsertim Virgilius tuus, diu nobis innotuere, atque nomen tuum omnibus literarum elegantiorum cultoribus celeberrimum, charissimumque reddiderunt.

Mentem igitur meam summo gaudio affectam sensi, postquam ex tuis literis didicissem Te jam in nova Homeri recensione, ad exemplum Virgilii tui, esse occupatum. Quanquam enim vir præstantissimus Sam. Clarke sua laude nequaquam fraudandus sit, tamen multa post curas ejus facienda restabant. Nec popularis tuus Ernestius aliquid magni post Clarkium momenti præstitit quod novam summi Poetæ editionem opus supervacaneum reddiderit. Tua edendi methodus omnibus quidem Eruditis arrisisse videtur; et si novam Homeri editionem, ejusmodi fere apparatu quo Virgilius tuus adornatam, absolveris; commentario scilicet perpetuo, varietate lectionis, et excursibus doctissimis; additis insuper Græcis scholiis selectioribus, atque notitia literaria critica priorum editionum, ingentem sine dubio laudem, doctis omnibus plaudentibus, consequuturus es. Habes subsidia varia quæ tempore Clarkii nondum erant edita; habes e. g. lexicon Dammii, opus laboriosum et utilissimum, habes Villoisoni nuperam editionem Venetam, habes denique tuum ingenium, quod ut diu pleno vigore gaudeat nunquam orare desinam. Iterum vale. Edinb. d. xx. Feb. 1792.

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## E R R A T A.

Page 12. line 20. *for foot, read tops.*

16. 1. *for entered, read was going to enter.*

*See the last page.*

D E-



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# DESCRIPTION

OF THE

*PLAIN OF T R O Y.*

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## CHAPTER I.

*Voyage from Venice to Cape Baba, on the coast of Asia.*

**A**FTER making the tour of Italy, I waited at Venice for a favourable opportunity to embark for Greece. The Chevalier ZULIANI, who was appointed Ambassador by the Republic to the Porte, was immediately to set out for the place of his destination. I begged to be admitted on board his vessel, and had the satisfaction to obtain my request. That Minister, in whom is united a most exquisite taste for the Arts and Sciences, with every quality of an able Negotiator; had likewise taken on board the celebrated Dr SPALLANZANI, one of the most ingenious Naturalists of the present age, whom the Emperor JOSEPH II. dispatched to the Levant, in order to enrich the Science of Nature by new discoveries.

A

AMIDST

AMIDST the shining qualities which distinguished my respectable companions in this voyage, I soon discovered a passion for the monuments of Antiquity similar to that which I myself entertained. We immediately came to a right understanding together; and in every place where the vessel moored, our sentiments seemed to be the same, and our schemes dictated by a congenial instinct.

HAVING surveyed together the coasts and the islands of the Adriatic, and visited the antiquities of Pola, the mountains of Chimera, the islands of Ithaca, Corfu, Cephalenia, Zanté, and Cythera, we landed, after a dreadful storm, at the promontory of *Sunium*, where are still to be seen the venerable ruins of the temple of *Minerva Sunias* \*. I went ashore at that place, and by one of those accidents which often happen to travellers, whom excess of curiosity carries to a great distance from the harbour at the time when the arbitrary winds oblige the vessel to set sail, I was reduced to the agreeable necessity of seeing Athens and a part of the continent of Greece.

ON leaving Attica, I embarked at the port of Piræus, with the intention to proceed immediately to the mouth of the Hellespont, and there to explore *The Plain of Troy*, which I had destined, even before my departure from Italy, to be the principal object of my investigation. But adverse—I should rather say favourable winds put me ashore successively on the finest islands of the Archipelago, and at last on that of Mitylené, whence I reached *Cape Baba*, the ancient promontory of *Leſſos*.

#### FINDING

\* See *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, par M. LE ROY: and CHANDLER's *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 9.



FINDING myself in a region of Asia at a great distance from the Hellespont, I determined to trace the coast with the most scrupulous care, and to observe particularly the plains and rivers which in my progress I should meet with. This was the method most to be depended upon for discovering the plain of Troy, and the monuments mentioned in the Poems of HOMER. The different proofs which I had obtained of that great Poet's accuracy in those places which I had just surveyed, authorised me to think that he would not be deficient in this respect in the description of the Troad; and I was previously convinced that I should find it such as he has painted it in his verses.

It will not be difficult, said I to myself, to find the *two promontories* which bounded the camp of the Greeks, and where AJAX and ACHILLES had their posts'. Among the valleys contiguous to the plain of Troy, I shall be able to discover that of *Thymbra*', where the allies of the Trojans were encamped. I shall distinguish the impetuous course of the rapid *Simois*', and the limpid stream of the divine *Scamander*<sup>4</sup>, whose banks are adorned with flowers. The *sources* of that beautiful river, which the Poet has marked by characters so particular and so prominent, will not be lost'. Why should not some traces still remain of the *tombs* of those famous *Warriors*, which were to command the veneration of navigators to the latest posterity<sup>6</sup>? Those *delightful hills*, which stretched along the banks of the Simois, will not surely have altered their position nor have lost their charms'. Perhaps I shall be able still to find the *seat* of

A 2

ancient

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. viii. 222. xi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. x. 430.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. xii. 21, 22. xxi. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. vii. 329. xii. 21. ii. 467. v. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Iliad. xxii. 147.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. vii. 86. xxiii. 45. 255. Od. xxiv. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Iliad. xx. 53. 150.

*ancient Troy*, the tomb of the old *Æsyetes*<sup>1</sup>, that of *Ilus*<sup>2</sup>, and the *bill* covered with *wild fig-trees*, which occasioned so much anxiety to *ANDROMACHE*<sup>3</sup>.

You will hardly believe, Gentlemen, that I found this pleasing dream realized; and I should have had reason to be afraid of being looked upon by you as an enthusiast or visionary, if the greatest part of those monuments which I have just mentioned, had not been beheld at least, if not accurately surveyed, by travellers whose names command your respect; and were they not still to be seen by those who shall afterwards take the trouble to ascertain their position, by means of the topographical Map which I have made.

INTOXICATED with the prospect of the various pleasures I was to enjoy, though at that time very uncertain, I quitted the promontory of *Lectos*, attended by a Janizary, who was not wanting in his endeavours to alarm me with imaginary dangers, with a view to have his merit in undergoing them along with me, and the resolution he displayed in defending me from them, more amply rewarded.

AFTER observing on my way the ruins of a temple, and the salt-pits of *Tragesæa*, in which the great quantity of salt, if we may believe *STRABO*<sup>4</sup>, formerly depended on certain periodical or etesian winds, which used to convey it thither ready made, I arrived at the ruins of *Alexandria Troas*, to which the Turks give the name of *Eski-Stamboul*, *Old Constantinople*, as if, from its stupendous remains, they judged it worthy of being the ancient capital of their Empire.

## C H A P.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. ii. 793.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* x. 415. xi. 166. 371. xxiv. 349.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*. vi. 433. xi. 167. xxii. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Lib.* xiii. p. 902. edit. Amst. 1707.



## C H A P. II.

*Description of Alexandria Troas and its Ruins.*

“ **A**LEXANDER the Great, says Dr CHANDLER, instead of  
 “ marking his progress by devastations, wisely provided  
 “ more lasting and honourable monuments of his passage  
 “ through the countries which he subdued; causing cities and  
 “ temples to be erected, and forming plans for their improve-  
 “ ment and future prosperity. As his stay was commonly  
 “ short, the execution of his noble designs was committed to  
 “ the Governors whom he appointed; men of grand ideas,  
 “ fitted to serve so magnificent a master. Alexandria Troas  
 “ was one of eighteen cities which bore his name.

“ THIS city was begun by ANTIGONUS, and from him first  
 “ called Antigonía; but LYSIMACHUS, to whom, as a succeſ-  
 “ ſor of ALEXANDER, it devolved, changed the appellation in  
 “ honour of the deceased King. In the war with ANTIOCHUS,  
 “ it was eminent for its fidelity to the Romans, who conferred  
 “ on it the same privileges as the cities of Italy enjoyed. Un-  
 “ der AUGUSTUS it received a Roman colony, and increased.  
 “ It was then the only considerable place between Sigéum and  
 “ Lectos<sup>1</sup>.”

SUETONIUS relates, that CÆSAR, out of respect for the  
 country from which his ancestors derived their origin, had  
 projected

<sup>1</sup> Travels in Asia Minor, chap. ix. STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 887. edit. Amst. 1707.

projected the scheme of transporting the riches of the Empire thither<sup>1</sup>. It is believed that AUGUSTUS himself had conceived the same design; but that MECÆNAS, AGRIPPA, and the principal courtiers of that Prince, knowing the influence of poetry upon his mind, prevailed upon HORACE to inscribe that Ode to him, in which he has introduced, with admirable address and delicacy, the goddess JUNO threatening the Romans with the extremity of her resentment, if they should attempt to rebuild the walls of Troy.

*Sed bellicosæ fata Quiritibus  
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii,  
Rebusque fidentes, avitæ  
Tecta velint reparare Trojæ.*

Lib. iii. Od. 3.

Thus let the warlike Romans reign,  
So JUNO and the fates ordain,  
But on these terms alone, no more to dare  
Through piety or pride their parent Troy repair.

FRANCIS.

CÆSAR possibly might have had his reasons for being disgusted with residing at Rome, and might have entertained thoughts of removing to a distance from that city; but one can hardly suppose that AUGUSTUS, who was adored by his subjects, could for an instant entertain a thought of estranging himself from them; and that, after having given peace to the universe, he would prefer the obscure city of Alexandria to the splendid residence of Rome.

THE

<sup>1</sup> SUTTON. c. 79.



THE warm baths, called by the Turks *Lidja-Hamam*, are the first object which attracts the attention of strangers on their arrival from Cape Baba at Eski-Stamboul. They are supplied by two springs, whose heat is different, although they are not thirty paces from each other. FAHRENHEIT'S thermometer, which was at 82 degrees in the shade, rose in the one to 113, and in the other to 110 degrees. We learn by a tradition preserved by the Turks who inhabit the neighbouring villages, that, in the last century, those springs failed in consequence of an earthquake, and did not make their appearance again till ten years after. The walls which encompass them are filled with the ruins of statues, among which I distinguished that of young HERCULES, and that of a woman, of which the drapery appeared to me to be in the finest style.

THE hill, upon whose declivity the baths of *Lidja* are situated, is covered with tombs. In surveying these onwards to the beach, Turks are to be found, at every step, employed in breaking *Sarcophagi* of white marble, adorned with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, to make bullets of them, or decorations for their own burying-places. For a long while the castles of the Dardanelles have been furnished with bullets from the ruins of Alexandria, and that magazine is not yet nearly exhausted.

THE monument, which of all others situate without the town, the hand of time seems to have respected the most, has the appearance of a column broken in pieces, ten feet in diameter. It is to be found near the ruins of an aqueduct, which still extends a great way towards the mouth of the Hellespont, and whose magnificence and solidity give an idea of the generous patriotism of the person who constructed it.

HERODES

HERODES ATTICUS, Governor of the free cities of Asia, observing that the citizens of Alexandria were reduced to the necessity of making use of fetid water from cisterns and wells, wrote to ADRIAN, requesting that he would not permit a maritime city of such importance to be deprived of a comfort which he had granted to the common villages of Asia. ADRIAN complied with his request, and appointed him surveyor of the works which it was necessary to construct for bringing water into that city. The expence exceeded seven millions of drachmæ<sup>1</sup>. The enemies of HERODES complained of this to the Emperor, and stated to him that the tribute of five hundred cities had been sacrificed to the execution of this single work. HERODES owned that the expence had indeed exceeded his original estimate ; but he disappointed his slanderers, by proving that he had advanced the overplus out of his own funds.

THIS aqueduct, whose ruins extend more than a mile to the north, or towards the Hellespont, is not the only monument erected by that great man during the course of his life. Among other works, he built the Stadium of Athens, which exists at this day, and whose magnificence is so much extolled by PAUSANIAS<sup>2</sup>.

THE walls of Alexandria are almost entire. They are eight feet thick, built of cut stone, and flanked with towers. The hill which they encompass, and on which the town was situated to great advantage, is separated to the east from the long chain which composes mount Ida, by the valley where the waters of  
the

<sup>1</sup> L. 239,583 : 6 : 8 Sterling ; computing the drachma at 8½ d. See Sir WILLIAM JONES's Notes on his Translation of *Isæus*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Græciæ Descriptio*, Lib. I. p. 34. Edit. Hanov. 1613.



the hot springs flow, and extends in a sloping direction towards the sea, for the space of about half a league square.

THE founders of this city must have been sensible of the advantages it would enjoy from being situate at the mouth of the Hellespont, and from its vicinity to those hot mineral waters, still famous for their virtues in the cure of leprosy, rheumatism, and cutaneous diseases. It appears that its inhabitants were likewise well acquainted with the value of commerce and the utility of a harbour. Nature had sketched out the circular form of this, of which the ruins are still the object of admiration. It seems uncertain whether the stupendous columns of granite, which are scattered up and down within its vast basin, served formerly for its ornament, or whether the Turks, after having rolled them down from the heights of the city, have given up thoughts of putting them on shipboard, on account of their weight.

PUBLIC buildings are those which best resist the injuries of time. Among the ruins of Alexandria, are still to be seen a Stadium, a Theatre, two Temples, and a large edifice, which may be discerned by persons at sea at a great distance, through thickets of Valonia trees, which now cover the space once occupied by the city.

Pococke and Chandler look upon this edifice as a Gymnasium where the youth were instructed in the sciences, and in bodily exercises<sup>1</sup>. Mariners commonly give it the name of *The Palace of PRIAM*, without considering that PRIAM's palace must have been a great way from the sea, and that this is almost close upon the shore.

B

FOR

<sup>1</sup> A Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 109. Travels in Asia Minor, p. 27.

FOR my own part, I was struck at first sight with the resemblance betwixt this edifice and the baths of **DIOCLESIAN** and **CARACALLA**, which are to be seen at Rome. But what completely convinced me that it was intended for baths, was the large semicircular building which is to be found at the south angle of the fabric, and in which the canals of the aqueduct, which bring the water thither, terminate. If **POCOCKE** and **CHANDLER** had seen these canals; if they had penetrated into their vaults, which are still incrustated with the sediment of water; if they had observed the direction of the aqueduct which terminates there, they would not surely have mistaken its design.

THE valley comprehended within the walls, and which the Turks call *Beian-deré*, is partly artificial. Its whole length is divided by a large common sewer, into which it is not to be doubted that all the water of the city discharged itself, and whose outlet, for size and workmanship, is inferior in no respect to the great common sewer at Rome, constructed by the **TARQUINS**.

## C H A P. III.

*Journey from Alexandria Troas to the Castle in Asia called Koum-Kalé.*

**A**FTER I had minutely examined, measured and delineated all the monuments of Alexandria Troas ; after I had geometrically ascertained their relative situation, both as to each other, and to the island of Tenedos, which appears in front, I pursued my journey along the shore of the Ægean sea.

I SOON arrived at a vast plain, which I should have been tempted to take for that of Troy, if I had observed in it the course of any river. I then left to the right the villages of *Dabri*, of *Gheislik* and of *Bos*, and arrived at last, across a long chain of low uncultivated hills, at the foot of a rising ground of a conic shape, and plainly a work of art, which I had observed in the horizon, immediately on my quitting the walls of Alexandria. This striking object attracted my whole attention, by its regular shape, its enormous size, and its height, which is not less than an hundred feet, and by the extent of its outline, which I found to be four hundred paces.

I WAS extremely anxious to know, whether the Turks who dwell in the neighbouring villages, were accustomed to give any particular name to this little mountain. My curiosity was completely satisfied, on learning that they considered it as a tomb of the infidels, and that they gave it the remarkable ap-



pellation of *Tapé* or *Tepé*, with the addition of the name of the nearest village, which is *Udjek*.

ON considering the shape of this monument, and the exact resemblance betwixt the name given to it by the Turks, and that which the Egyptians give to their tombs, I could scarcely help believing that this was a tomb, or at least one of those sacred mounts on which the people of Asia were wont to offer sacrifices. But as I had not as yet any notion of the *plain of Troy*, which however was now very near me, I could only form conjectures, without coming to any determined opinion respecting the nature of this monument. It was not till afterwards, I may even say after my third journey to the Troad, that I could pronounce a rational judgment on the subject of this mound, and of all those of the same kind which are to be seen in the plain of Troy. I satisfied myself at that time with measuring its height, and its circumference, and enjoying from its top one of the finest prospects in the world. At noon, at the distance of more than four leagues, I perceived the ruins of Alexandria; at my feet, towards the north, an immense plain, encompassed with delightful hills; to the east, the foot of the mountains of Ida; and to the west, the *Ægean* sea, the islands of Tenedos, Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos, and all the way to the summit of mount Athos.

ABOUT a mile from this monument is to be found the village of *Erkefigbi*, near to which, as I passed that way, I saw an elegant *Kiosk* or *Tchiftlek*, which the famous HASSAN, the last Captain Pacha, had caused to be built for the purpose of reposing himself during the time that the Turkish fleet, after a  
cruise

cruise on the Archipelago, or any other expedition, waits at the mouth of the Hellespont for the south winds.

SOME days before my arrival, his Architects had directed a magnificent Sarcophagus of white marble to be brought from Alexandria, to serve as a cistern or trough for a fountain. My regret was increased at the mean use to which they had destined this precious monument, when I discovered, on one of its fronts, the remains of a Greek inscription, of which I had found the beginning at Alexandria, among the pieces severed by the barbarians from the Sarcophagus, in shaping it according to their whimsical fancy.

BELOW the *Kiosk* which I have mentioned, is to be seen a considerable stream, whose water being extremely limpid, after following the direction of the hills which stretch along towards the higher part of the large plain, seems to deviate from its natural course into a new canal that conveys it into the adjacent valley. It is easy to perceive that the alteration made in the course of this rivulet has been produced by the hand of man. Its bed, which is in general very shallow and full of windings, before it arrives below the *Kiosk*, acquires suddenly at that place a great depth; and while the remainder of its progress rigidly retains the direction of a straight line, its banks exhibit a very high sloping terrace, formed of the earth which has been dug out at the formation of the canal.

YOU will not wonder, Gentlemen, that I should insist thus minutely upon the description of what might be thought a common rivulet. When a traveller believes that he is approaching the plain of Troy, every object becomes interesting.

*Nullum*



———*Nullum est sine nomine saxum.*

LUCAN. Pharf. Lib. ix. 973.

No stone is nameless here.

On such an occasion it would be a crime to neglect any thing ; nor is CÆSAR, who passed the Scamander without observing it, the model one would wish to copy.

*Inscius in sicco serpentem gramine rivum*

*Transferat qui Xanthus<sup>1</sup> erat. Ib.*

A little gliding stream, which Xanthus was,  
Unknown he past, and in the lofty grass  
Securely trod ! MAY.

I FOLLOWED therefore the course of this beautiful stream to the place where it discharges itself into the Ægean sea. There I observed a swamp covered with reeds, growing very thick and very tall, and, at a little distance, a mill, which perhaps might have been the real cause of the rivulet's being diverted from its ancient channel. Such a conjecture is strengthened from this

<sup>1</sup> 'ΟΥ ΞΑΝΘΟΝ καλέουσι θεοί, αἰδοίης δὲ ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ.

Iliad. xx. 74.

XANTHUS his name with those of heavenly birth,  
But called SCAMANDER by the sons of earth.

POPE.

HOMER, in different parts of the Iliad, thus ascribes two names to the same person or object, the one heavenly and the other earthly. See Iliad. i. 403. ii. 813. vi. 402. Under which passages, Dr CLARKE, in his notes, has enumerated the opinions of different ancient authors upon this subject. His own is, that the name given by the learned has been represented by HOMER as the *divine* name, and the vulgar one as the *human*. See also BAYLE's Dict. Artic. *Scamandre*. D.



this circumstance, that all the villages thereabouts are obliged to have recourse to the use of wind-mills, a very precarious expedient in a country so temperate as that region of Asia. Nor would it be at all surprising, if the course of this stream had been altered by HERODES ATTICUS, and that the aqueduct, whose ruins extend towards the plain of Troy, had been intended to convey its waters to Alexandria Troas.

FROM the mouth of this rivulet, I directed my course towards the village of *Jeni-chehr*, along the coast, which, all the way, is composed of rocks, cut perpendicularly, of a tremendous height. My curiosity prompted me to approach that part of the shore, in order to have a nearer view of certain little hills which I had observed from the top of the mount at *Udjek*, and which appeared to me to be of the same shape with that monument.

THE first of those rising grounds which I met with on my road, is called by the Turks *Beebik-Tapé*. It is not by any means so high as that at *Udjek*. Near it is to be seen an entrenchment made across the mountain, of which it is not easy to point out the reason or the use. A little farther onwards, I came to the other hillock, which seemed to me of the same dimension with the former, and equally well exposed to the view of those who sail into the mouth of the Hellespont. I was not able to discover what name the Turks gave to this last; but I concluded that, like many others, it is called after the village in its neighbourhood.

THE village of *Jeni-chehr*, which is inhabited by Greeks, is situate upon the extremity of a high promontory, which, together with that of the Thracian Chersonesus, forms the entry  
of.

of the canal of the Hellespont. The moment I entered the church, I observed upon a block of marble the two following words, which were scarcely legible, ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ ΕΙΜΙ—— They are the beginning of the famous Sigéan Inscription, well known to the learned, and of which CHISHULL has given a minute detail<sup>1</sup>.

FACING the inscription on the left side of the gate of the same church, there is to be seen a *bass-relief* of marble of the finest workmanship. It represents a woman seated. Nurses, with children in their arms, wrapped in swaddling clothes, seem to present them to the fitting figure. Another personage appears behind the nurses, carrying a coffer in his right-hand, and a sort of shell in his left.

Dr CHANDLER has given a complete explication of this *bass-relief*. “ The Greeks, says he, were accustomed to consign  
“ their infants to the tutelar care of some deity ; the midwife,  
“ dressed in white, with her feet bare, carrying the child to be  
“ presented on the fifth day after its birth. The Romans had  
“ the same superstition ; and CALIGULA is on record as having  
“ placed his daughter LIVIA DRUSILLA in the lap of MINER-  
“ VA<sup>2</sup>. That usage is the subject of the sculpture. The god-  
“ dess is sitting, as described by HOMER, in her temple in  
“ Troy. A little chest, borne by one of the figures, may be  
“ supposed to contain incense, or the offerings which accompa-  
“ nied this ceremony<sup>3</sup>. ”

You

<sup>1</sup> See his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ* ; also CHANDLER's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*.

<sup>2</sup> SUTTON. c. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor*, c. 12. An elegant engraving is given of this *bass-relief*, as the head-piece of the preface to *Ionian Antiquities*.



YOU will easily imagine, Gentlemen, the violent inclination I had to carry off these two interesting relics ; and you will even excuse me for the attempts I made, and the dangers to which I exposed myself, to rescue them from obscurity and from imminent destruction. But the piece of marble which exhibits the inscription, is famous among the Greeks as a remedy of sovereign efficacy in the cure of agues. They place the patient upon it, and there he lies down, and rolls himself ; and every body believes him cured. Meanwhile this operation gradually obliterates the precious characters of the monument, and perhaps, alas ! while I am now speaking, no trace of them remains. The superstition of the Greeks rendered them inexorable to my entreaties, and their artful vigilance baffled all my stratagems. Besides, how was it possible for me to succeed in an undertaking, where the gold of English Men of Letters, and the threats of HASSAN, still more eloquent, had been employed without effect ?

AT a small distance from the village of Jeni-chehr, I went up to the top of the high promontory, which commands a view of the extensive plain already mentioned. The torrent by which this plain is intersected, was then dried up ; but the width and the irregularity of its channel sufficiently demonstrated the nature of its devastations and its rapidity. An extensive marsh occupies the ground at the place of its discharge, both on the right and left, and reaches almost to the foot of a paltry fortress, called by the Turks *Koum-Kalé*, *the castle of the sand*, doubtless because it is built upon the sands which are accumulated at the mouth of the torrent.

C

WHEN



WHEN I was surveying these different objects, I perceived at the foot of the promontory where I was sitting, two little hills near to each other, and perfectly resembling those which I had just observed on the ridge of the promontory. A Greek inhabitant of Jeni-chehr informed me, that the most considerable of the two, which is nearest the sea-shore, is called *Dios-Tapé*. This very remarkable name, as may be supposed, furnished me with a subject for various reflections, which I had an opportunity of unfolding, according to the advances I made in an acquaintance with the plain and the monuments which it exhibits ; but at that time I satisfied myself with making some measurements of their dimensions, and then proceeded on my journey.

THE castle contiguous to the promontory, which is built at the mouth of the river that flows hard by it, consists of an indifferent inclosure of high walls, flanked with towers, which the Turks take great pains to whiten, as if they meant to render them more conspicuous, and expose them the better to the guns of the enemy. The lower part of these walls is pierced with many large embrasures, where immense canon are pointed, so as to discharge marble bullets along the surface of the water. These canon are placed just upon thick logs of wood ; and they can never discharge more than a single shot at the same vessel, because the recoil deranges them, and an immense exertion is requisite to restore them to their former position.

SUCH a battery then is not able to stop an enemy's fleet when favoured by a prosperous wind. Those that are situate on the opposite coast, at the extremity of the Thracian Chersonesus, and

and which were erected by the celebrated Baron de TOTT, would no doubt prove an excellent defence, if the Turks knew how to make use of them; but their natural enemies the Russians are well acquainted with their want of skill in the art military; and if in the war which preceded the present, the Powers, whose interest it is to preserve the Turkish empire, had not put a stop to their progress, they were preparing to bid defiance to the artillery of the castles, and to conclude a treaty of peace under the walls of the Seraglio.

## C H A P. IV.

*Journey from Koum-Kalé to Mount Cotylus, one of the highest summits of the Chain of Ida.*

THE fatigue of travelling having made it necessary for me to take some rest, I remained several days in a caravanse-ray at the village of Koum-Kalé, situate near the castle. When I was in a condition to resume my journey, I passed the river near its mouth, and found it to be more than three hundred feet broad. In the marsh on its banks, I observed certain small lakes of fresh and of salt water, and was struck with the prodigious quantity of reeds and of tamarisks I met with as I proceeded along the sea-coast.

At length, after travelling for half an hour, I saw at a great distance a mount of the same kind with all those I have already mentioned. On approaching it, I observed a large aperture in its side, and many fragments of walls in ruins, which seemed to be the support of the fabric. I quickly entered under this vault, and eagerly explored its whole length, and likewise a cavity in a transverse direction which I found in it. I examined the nature of the materials, and the cement which bound them together, and was delighted to learn that it still bears the interesting name of *Tapé*.

THIS was not all. I observed that this monument is situate at the point of a prominence or tongue of land, which advances into the plain exactly opposite to the Cape of Jenichehr.



chehr. What splendid conjectures then arose in my mind ! But still it is too soon to form a system ; there are not yet sufficient data.

AFTER taking a view of a small adjacent harbour, which the Turks call *Karanlik-Limani*, the *shut haven*, I continued my journey along the shore of the Hellespont to the village of *It-Guelmes*. I was surprised at the great quantity of wild fig-trees growing in its neighbourhood, which induced me to ask for a repetition of the name, that I might discover whether it conveyed any allusion to the natural productions of the place. I was answered by a Greek, that they called it indifferently *It-Guelmes* or *Erin-Keu*. This last name brought to my mind that of *Ἐγινός*, which signifies a place abounding in *wild fig-trees*. At that instant, I recollected that there was a hill of this name near the city of Troy, to which ANDROMACHE endeavoured to direct the attention of HECTOR, as being the only place where the city could be attacked'. From this I was going to conclude, that the city must have been very near where I was. But neither the Simois nor the Scamander was to be seen there ; and moreover I was close upon the sea-shore, a situation incompatible with that of ancient Troy.

It seemed to me at that time to be the more fruitless to advance beyond Erin-Keu, as I had a prospect of nothing but a long range of hills reaching to the north and north-east all the way to the horizon. I returned therefore nearly the same way I came, with the design to trace the circumference of the large plain, which I had admired from the summit of the rising ground at Udjek, and from the Cape of Jeni-chehr.

I

\* Iliad. vi. 433. xi. 167. xxii. 145.

I soon descended into a delightful valley, which the Turks call *Thimbrek-Deré*, the *Valley of Thimbrek*. This valley terminates by a wide opening into the large plain. I had begun to ascend towards the source of the rivulet which runs through it, when I was stopped on its left bank, near the village of *Haleli*, by an immense heap of ruins, amidst which I observed some bas-reliefs, columns, capitals, entablatures and inscriptions.

WITHOUT examining whether the monument which had formerly existed at that place was a temple, or any other edifice; and being hard pressed at the same time by the threats of the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, who suspected I was searching for treasures among those ruins, I hastily collected all the inscriptions, under the full persuasion that some of them might contain the character of the monument, or at least furnish me with the means of discovering it.

ONE of those inscriptions makes mention of a silver statue, dedicated to JUPITER by DIOCLETIAN or MAXIMIAN; another, of a statue erected to AUGUSTUS, in the name of the inhabitants of Ilium, and of forty cities of Asia, which joined in celebrating the festivals; a third was carved at the pedestal of a statue of one ATTALUS, a celebrated wrestler, of whom ÆSCHINES speaks in his letter concerning the Troad<sup>1</sup>; a fourth contains the ceremonial of the festival of the Panathenæa; and the last of all is an expression of homage to APOLLO by the inhabitants of Ilium.

THESE

<sup>1</sup> Letter x. See REISKE's Edition of the Greek Orators, Vol. iii. p. 679. Also *Oeuvres complètes de DEMOSTHÈNE et d'ESCHINE*, traduites en François, par M. l'Abbé AUGER, Tom. ii. 2 partie, p. 638. D.



THESE inscriptions would have been sufficient for ascertaining the nature of the monument whose ruins I was surveying ; but the style of the architecture, and the plan of the building, which I decyphered with no great difficulty, completely convinced me that I had met with a temple. It was of the Doric order, at least its outside was so. The columns were eighteen inches diameter. Some Corinthian capitals which were scattered up and down, made me suspect that the internal decoration might have been of that order.

AFTER I had got free from the anxiety occasioned by the inhabitants of Halil-Eli, while I was going over the ruins of the temple, I proceeded to ascertain the source of the rivulet which runs through the valley of Thimbrek ; and I afterwards traced it to the place of its discharge into the great torrent of the plain which the Turks call *Menderé*.

AGAIN I approached the banks of that large river which seems to flow down from the upper extremity of the extensive plain, a great part of which I had already encompassed. I undertook the task of ascending to its source, and of observing the other streams which it might receive in its progress. It was an arduous attempt, as there was a necessity for resolving scrupulously to trace all its windings, to bid defiance to marshes, brambles and difficulties of all kinds, which were to be encountered at every step. The Turk too who acted as my guide, was extremely lavish in a display of unequivocal signs of compassion for me. He looked upon me as very foolish for coming so far to expose myself to so many fatigues and dangers in quest of ruined buildings and sources of rivers. “ Infidel,” would he frequently



frequently say, "Hast thou no rivers and rubbish of old houses  
" in thy own country?"

AFTER walking for about an hour, I observed on the right the bed of a small river, at that time dry, and covered with plants and turf. I entered it, and made good my way, till I arrived at the banks of that beautiful rivulet which I had passed in coming down from the village of Erkeffighi. I then no longer had any doubt that this stream had formerly flowed into the large river, as I had at first supposed, and that the new canal in which it now runs was artificial.

My guide perceiving how much I was interested in obtaining a knowledge of the sources and the mouths of rivers, informed me, that the origin of this beautiful current was at no great distance. He even pointed out to me with his finger a thicket of trees with green foliage, at the extremity of the plain, from which he assured me that it issued.

INSTEAD of proceeding immediately to examine the truth of his assertion, I returned towards the large river, till I came to the spot where I had left it; and I had not advanced upwards along its banks a hundred paces, when I observed the ruins of a bridge built of hewn stone, and of such finished architecture, that it must have been the work of the ancients. Fronting these remains, on the right of the river, I saw another rising ground of the same kind with those I had already discovered, but in a much more ruinous condition; it was even requisite to be as well accustomed as I was to the sight of such monuments to enable any one to distinguish its ancient shape amidst the wreck.

BEING

BEING now perfectly convinced by the foregoing observations, that the two rivers had formerly united their waters in the vicinity of the ruins of the bridge, I then directed my way towards the source which my guide had pointed out to me. I presently reached the banks of the little river, the transparency of whose water struck me more and more. It runs with great rapidity upon a bottom of sand and round pebbles, betwixt two verdant banks, which are never overflowed, and which in the spring are adorned with flowers. The bridge over which I passed, consisted of an old *willow*, stretched across from the one bank to the other, near a mill, where I found a great number of Turks employed in catching *eels*.

It is easy to imagine the number of circumstances which the different features of this beautiful rill called to my remembrance, and the eagerness which seized me to visit its source. Nothing can equal the pleasure and the surprise I felt, when, after I had traversed a great plain without meeting with a single tree, I found myself in the midst of a little forest of willows, weeping willows, ash-trees and poplars, extending all the way to the foot of the low hills which bound that plain.

THE substance of which these hills are formed, is a sort of pudding-stone, which, at first sight, has quite the appearance of masonry. The pieces of which it consists, are fastened together by a sort of cement of a reddish colour; and Nature hath so exactly imitated Art on this occasion, that a very minute degree of observation is requisite for detecting the deception. A number of springs of limpid water spout forth from the crevices in the rock, and form the small marsh observable in the adjacent valley, before they unite into one current.



rent. Near some of these crevices, I observed certain ruins of walls, the perfect solidity of whose construction clearly evinces them to have been the work of a more industrious people than the Turks.

ON the road which leads to the neighbouring village, about forty paces from the hill just mentioned, I found a solitary spring, discharging its waters in great abundance from the bottom of a basin, whose borders consisted of two pilasters of granite, and a great many pieces of marble. When I afterwards visited the place about the end of September, a thick smoke arose over this fountain, and overspread the surrounding trees and gardens. On immersing my hand in it at that time, I found it warm; but my guide assured me that it was much warmer about the middle of winter.

It is easy to conceive that springs so copious must be the means of increasing the fertility of the contiguous grounds. Accordingly, after being divided into a variety of small streams, in order to water several delightful gardens, where the growth of all sorts of leguminous vegetables and fruits is thus promoted, all these streams afterwards unite into one channel, which is bordered with a profusion of tall reeds.

I ADVANCED upwards to the village by a pleasant and easy ascent, rising imperceptibly from the plain, and presently passed through a spacious burying-ground, where each of the tombs is adorned with a column of marble or of granite; and I perceived near the Mosque, a large bench of Parian marble, supported by two props, one of which is a triglyph in the chastest style. Here, said I, are evident monuments of Art. Might not there formerly have been some important city on this hill? The vicinity of a fertile plain, and of the fine springs which I have



have just visited, in a country where water is so scarce, would undoubtedly have been a powerful allurements to its founders.

THE name *Bounar* or *Pounar-Bachi*, *head of the fountain*, which the Turks give to this village, is a literal translation of the Greek word *Κεφονός*, which I remember to have met with in HOMER, when he is describing the sources of the Scamander.—But still it is too soon to be making applications. Let us continue to collect facts, and then institute a mutual comparison of the objects we have discovered. It is as essential to know their situation and their relative distance, as their absolute qualities.

IN continuing to climb the hill, which rises, as I have already said, from the level of the plain, and which reaches near a mile beyond the village of Bounar-Bachi, I stopped short suddenly upon the abrupt borders of a precipice of an astonishing height. The torrent which flows beneath is the same that runs through the plain. When it comes down with violence, its waters overflow the narrow valley, bounded on each side by huge rocks, which seem to have been designed by nature to confine its impetuosity. When it is dried up, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages avail themselves of that lucky interval to cultivate its banks, rendered fertile at the expence of those regions on which it hath committed its depredations.

FROM the summit of that high ground, to which the Turks give the name of *Balli-dabi*, *mountain of honey*, on account of the numerous swarms of bees which frequent the rocks of which it is composed, I obtained a view of the whole extent of the large plain. It seemed to me of a semi-circular shape. Of the two chains of hills which surround it, one appears to run in a direction towards the promontory of Jeni-chehr, and the

other towards the point of *In-Tapé-Gbeulu*. That part of the hills to the right, which reaches between the villages of *Aktché* and *Tchiblak*, is more cheerful and more agreeable than the rest. I descried at a distance the islands of Tenedos and Imbros, Samothrace and Lemnos, the high top of mount Athos, and the Thracian Chersonesus beyond the Hellespont.

WHILE I was admiring the advantages of this situation, and the beauty of the prospects, my attention was attracted by a new object which presented itself to my view. The wind blew from the south with great violence, of which I had already felt the effects in the plain, but which became more impetuous the farther I advanced upon the eminence of Balli-dahi, which all around was exposed to the fury of every blast, without affording the smallest shelter. The Turkish fleet taking the advantage of this favourable gale, was doubling the Cape of Jeni-chehr with full sail, and entering the mouth of the Hellespont. It was commanded by HASSAN Pacha, who was returning victorious from Egypt. With a handful of men, and by the terrors of his name, he had defeated the numerous army of the Mamalukes, he had cut off the rebel Beys, was carrying their treasures to Constantinople, and leading their wives into captivity. In this manner are the coffers of the Grand Seignior filled. It is thus, by repeated scenes of massacre, that the incessant wants of an immense Empire are supplied, whose sole law is the will of a savage Despot, and whose only resources are the fruits of extortion.

THESE melancholy reflections were not the subject of my thoughts at that time. I did not know that the fleet of the cruel HASSAN was loaded with unfortunate captives. If I had  
been



been acquainted with this circumstance, instead of being charmed with the sight of those beautiful vessels, I should only have felt emotions of horror.

WHEN this fleet had got beyond the Cape, I resumed my observations, and remarked with surprise, that I was surrounded with four hillocks, perfectly resembling all those I had discovered on my journey. One of them, however, appeared to have something singular in its construction. On approaching it, I perceived that it did not consist, like the others, of a heap of earth covered with green turf, but of an enormous mass of small stones piled upon one another promiscuously. Its conical shape had evidently undergone an alteration, and attempts appeared to have been made to penetrate into the inside of it, with a view to explore its contents.

THIS was not all. On examining carefully the surface of the rock of Balli-dahi, I distinguished foundations of ancient buildings, the masonry of which had assumed the consistence of the rock itself. Are not these the foundations of some ancient city? and are not the columns of marble or of granite which decorate the neighbouring tombs, the ruins of its temples and its palaces? I had then no right to decide in the affirmative, nor did I allow myself even to presume that this had been the case; but I was at least entitled to aver, that if a city ever existed on this spot, it had the advantage of being situate at the extremity of a large and fertile plain, in the vicinity of water, pure, wholesome and copious; that it was environed almost on every side with formidable precipices, which rendered it impregnable, and that no situation was ever more favourable for the construction of a city.



A QUARTER of a league to the south-east of Bounar-Bachi, lies the village of *Arabler*. The hill which projects betwixt these two villages, and which faces the plain, is the only place where it is possible to come at the height of Bounar-Bachi, which on every side is encompassed with precipices. As the torrent of Menderé was dried up when I went down to its banks, I determined to walk within its channel, and, scrambling over trunks of trees and rocks, borne down by the impetuosity of the current, to trace it up to the source. Willows, poplars and plane trees are to be seen growing there amidst the havock and destruction which surround them; and though half torn away from the roots, they still are offering to the season, perhaps for the last time, the tribute of a stunted verdure<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER having walked for near five hours between the two chains of abrupt rocks which border the valley, I came into a plain not near so large as that which I had left behind me, and at the entry into which there is a considerable village, called by the Turks *Iné* or *Ené*. The wooden bridge which conducts passengers into this place, is supported by two columns of granite. The walls of the caravanferay are covered with Greek inscriptions, but which it is impossible to decypher. Every circumstance seems to indicate that this village has been built upon the ruins of some ancient city; and there actually was one in this part of the country, which STRABO calls *Æneas*, a name easily recognised in that of *Ené*. He says that this town was at the distance of fifty stadia from *Palæscopsis*<sup>2</sup>.

THE

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's Description of the Troade, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Geograph. lib. xiii. p. 900.

THE torrent which washes the walls of the village of Ené, and which discharges itself into the Menderé, takes its rise near the village of *Babarlar*, five hours journey to the southward. It is dried up a great part of the year, and the country through which it passes is mountainous and rugged.

MIGHT not this, however, be the Scamander, so celebrated in the poems of HOMER? It is plain that its waters unite with those of another torrent, which answers to the description of the rapid Simois; and it is well known that a junction formerly took place betwixt those rivers. But, on farther reflection, I cannot allow myself to be of this opinion; for the sources of the stream in question are at the distance of fifteen leagues from the sea, and from the ships of the Greeks. Besides, how could the battles which were actually fought in a plain betwixt the banks of two rivers, be supposed to be fought among impassable mountains. No sort of confidence could be reposed in an observer who should not find himself at a stand with these difficulties which HOMER throws in his way, but who, determined, cost what it would, to find a Scamander, should call to his aid the convulsions of nature, and, rather than renounce extravagant systems, make her bring forth mountains<sup>1</sup>.

IN a tedious and toilsome excursion which I made in the neighbourhood of Ené, and to the sources of the torrent I have mentioned, I met with nothing very interesting. I only had an opportunity of observing some ruins at the village of *Eskuptchu*, which I took for the ancient *Palæscopsis*; a silver mine, which STRABO really places thereabouts<sup>2</sup>, and at the  
village

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's Description of the Troade, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Geograph. lib. xiii. p. 900.



village of *Kemalli*, a Latin inscription in honour of *DRUSUS*.

I RETURNED to Ené, and continued my journey, constantly tracing the bed of the Menderé, towards the high mountain whence I was assured that it issued. On my way, I saw the different villages of *Baloukli*, of *Kefil* and of *Tebiaouch*, and at last I arrived at that of *Audgiler* or the *Hunters*, situate at the foot of the mountain which I was so long in quest of, at the expence of every sort of fatigue and danger. For it is to be observed, that all Highlanders are not alike, and in particular those of the Troad are not near so tractable or so gentle as those of Switzerland, or of the north of Scotland.

THIS mountain, called by the Turks *Kas-Dabi*, the mountain of the goose, composes a part of the long chain of Ida, which extends from north to south, and whose branches project with a gradual declivity to the east and west. This is the same mount *Cotylus*, from which STRABO, misinformed by DEMETRIUS, makes the Scamander to flow down, which he confounds with the Simois<sup>1</sup>, as I shall afterwards shew.

WHILE I was taking measures for reaching the summit, and my guides were conversing with me about the perils to which they were to be exposed in conducting me thither, a dreadful fall of rain obliged me to put off that great undertaking. It behoved me to wait full three days till the foot-paths became passable.

I THEN set out on my way through woods, abounding in fallow-deer and all sorts of game, which makes the chief nourishment and commerce of the village of *Audgiler*, whose inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> Geograph. lib. xiii. p. 898.



bitants are all Hunters. After having ascended for four hours, and passed over many torrents, which, being swollen by the late rains, rolled their foaming waters at the bottom of precipices, I at last reached the summit of that mountain, which HOMER has so well described when he speaks of it as “discharging” from its recesses a multitude of copious streams, and as “abounding in variety of game.”

YE Painters and Poets! who are proud of your performances, I long to greet you on a fine day, on the summit of Ida. Come hither, dash your pencils in despair against these noblest “patterns of excelling Nature,” and learn to be humble. Compare, if you are presumptuous enough, your pitiful productions with her sublime works. Are you not confounded, —annihilated, before the magnificence and the inimitable variety of the objects which she displays to your view?

WHICH of you will attempt to paint me this serene and azure sky, streaked with light and floating clouds? this formidable mass of accumulated mountains, the dazzling lustre of the snow which crowns their tops, the awful height of the precipices, the roaring of the torrent dashing against the rocks, these thickets of shrubs incumbent over the water, which, in reflecting their image from its surface, is tinged with a verdant hue, these prodigious blocks of granite, of which some are suspended over the head of the traveller, and others, already loosened from the mountain, seem to totter on the brink of the precipice; the demolished tops of the inferior hills resembling the troubled billows of a raging sea, the many rivers which traverse the valleys and plains in their course, and those two

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immense

<sup>1</sup> See Iliad. viii. 47. xi. 183. xiv. 157. 283. &c.

immense seas, the Ægean and the Propontis, whose waters, struck by the rays of the sun, seem to kindle the two opposite extremities of the horizon?

You may indeed, like all men of sensibility, experience a complete enjoyment of these beauties; your heart may be susceptible of the immense variety of sensations excited by the view of such a scene; but your colours are too faint for representing them, and the extent of your canvas is too limited to contain them; you may in your works surpass rivals less successful than yourselves, but hope not that you are ever to reach the Sublime of Nature!

## C H A P. V.

*Second and third Voyage from Constantinople to Troy.*

**T**HOUGH I have hitherto abstained from passing any judgment, and from determining my opinions, respecting the greatest part of the objects which have occupied my attention, yet it may be perceived how very difficult it must have been to supersede the recollections which could not but occur to my memory, and to withstand the evidence arising from the applications which I might have made. I obtained glimpses of important discoveries; but they were still detached, and not yet properly arranged for entering into a system.

FROM mount Ida I went to Constantinople. When I spoke there of my travels in the Troad, and the extraordinary conjectures I had formed, I was suspected of lunacy. What they called *my* Tombs and *my* Scamander, afforded much mirth. But this pleasantry, though at my expence, did not make me lose heart. I soon returned to the Troad in company with M. CAZAS, one of the most expert draughtsmen in Europe, who had then arrived from Palmyra; and who is just now at Rome, employed in preparing a valuable addition to the work of Mr WOOD.

WE left Constantinople together, on board a Greek vessel, the Captain of which, then far advanced in life, had navigated the Archipelago from his infancy. I availed myself of his information,



formation, when in the Hellespont, to enable me to ascertain the situation of Lampfacus, the havens of Sestos and Abydos, the ancient Dardanus, and all the rivers which disembody themselves into that famous strait. But this is not the place for giving any account of my labours in that quarter of Greece. At present I have confined myself merely to the Description of the Plain of Troy. The scene of the Iliad, though circumscribed within narrow bounds, is sufficient to engross my whole attention.

M. CAZAS and I arrived at Koum-Kalé at the very time when the sun was setting behind the peak of Mount Athos. The sky was serene and without a cloud. The azure colour of the tops of Imbros and Samothrace formed an admirable contrast to the long streams of light which the sun darted athwart the purest sky. This view recalled to my mind what I had formerly read in PLINY, and considered as a fable. It is pretended by that Naturalist, that the shadow of Mount Athos, at certain times of the year, extends as far as the market-place of Myrina, a city of the island of Lemnos, at the distance of eighty-seven miles from that mountain<sup>1</sup>.

THE testimony of PLINY in support of this fact, did not appear to me to be entitled to a greater degree of credit than the assertion of STRABO, who affirms, that those who inhabit the summit of the same mountain, see the rising sun three hours sooner than the inhabitants of the sea-coast<sup>2</sup>. I was very much disposed to reckon these assertions equally incredible, until looking towards the west, I observed an immense shadow shaped like

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. xxiii. CHANDLER'S Travels in Asia Minor, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Geograph. lib. vii. p. 510.

like a cone, whose point was at the top of Mount Athos, and its base, horizontally projected, seemed to be in contact with the surface of the sea, and to extend towards the island of Lemnos. In a few seconds, this shadow, mounting into the atmosphere, was dispersed, gradually losing its shape, as the sun descended below the horizon. Nothing farther was requisite to convince me that PLINY was in the right; but the assertion of STRABO can never be justified<sup>1</sup>.

THE vigilance of the Turks had the appearance of being a great obstacle to the geographical operations which I was going to set on foot. With a view to obviate this, I fell upon a contrivance, in consequence of which I was permitted to display my apparatus in every part of the country, without suffering the smallest inconvenience. I erected my graphometer boldly under the very guns of the castle. The Janizaries immediately flocked around me. Without seeming to be intimidated with their presence, I endeavoured to fix their attention upon the compass of the graphometer, the compass being an instrument with

<sup>1</sup> In justice however to STRABO, it ought to be remarked that the latter part of the seventh book of his Geography, which contained a Description of Macedon and Thrace, is now lost. This the editors have endeavoured to supply from an *Epitomé* of his work, or *Χρηστομύθειαι*, *Excerpts* from it, supposed to have been compiled by some person, now unknown, betwixt the 976th and 996th year of the Christian æra, and first printed in Greek along with the *Periplus* of HANNO and ARRIAN, together with PLUTARCH's treatise on *Rivers and Mountains*, by GELENIUS, in 4to, at Basil, in 1533. See FABRICII Bib. Gr. Vol. iv. p. 5. The assertion alluded to is taken from this *Epitomé*, and is contained in the following words: "Ἐστὶ δ' ὁ Ἀθων ὄρος μακροειδές· ὀξύτατον ὑψηλότατον· ὃς αἱ τὸν κορυφὴν οἰκῶντες, ὁρᾷσι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πρὸ ὥρων γ'. τῆς ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ἀνατολῆς. *Atho is a mountain of a conical shape, very acute and very high, the inhabitants of whose summit see the Sun rising three hours before his rise upon the sea-coast.* P. 510. Edit. Amst. 1707. D.



with which they are acquainted from its use in navigation; and I requested their permission to adjust it before I put to sea. The Turks possess a large share of confidence and credulity, attached to their great character and the result of their profound ignorance. Every one of the Janizaries shewed an eagerness to assist me. One carried the foot of the instrument, another the chain, a third the poles, and all of them joined in aiding me to accomplish a work for which they would have impaled me if they had known its pernicious effects.

THIS stratagem I employed with equal success in every other part of the Troad. M. CAZAS designed all the monuments; but he abstained at the time from introducing the figures into his sketches, after an Emir<sup>\*</sup> had demonstrated to him, with a threatening and exasperated air, that he would be answerable to GOD for all the little men which he engendered with his pencil.

THIS second tour, and a third, which I made in the Troad, still furnished me with new ideas, and enabled me to correct the mistakes I had committed in the first.

<sup>\*</sup> A particular sect of Turks who believe that they are of the family of MAHOMET, and who are for that reason prouder and more fanatical than the others.



## C H A P. VI.

*Account of the most celebrated Travellers, both ancient and modern, who have visited the Plain of Troy.*

**I**T is now time, Gentlemen, to make you acquainted with the opinions and conjectures I have formed respecting the different objects above described. But that you may be prepared for admitting them without reluctance, and without being surpris'd at their singularity, I will, in the first place, avail myself of support derived from the testimony of the most celebrated travellers both ancient and modern.

It is well known that the long war which was carried on at Troy, is not a poetical fiction, but a historical fact'. For the space of ten years, the Greeks were employed in laying waste the coast of Asia, together with the adjacent islands. The capital of the Trojan territory was not always the immediate subject of their disputes. They, no doubt, used to assail it occasionally, but they do not appear to have attacked it in full force till the tenth year of the war. Whether it was really taken, or, as some historians pretend, baffled all the efforts of the Greeks, I cannot take upon me to decide ; but certain it is, that, during that last campaign, there perished on both sides a great number of illustrious warriors, to whose memory, according to custom, monuments were erected on the very field of battle.

THE

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Univers. Hist. Book I. ch. 13. Herodot. Lib. ii.

THE interesting nature of this war must, while it lasted, have occasioned a general commotion in Greece and in Asia; and, after its termination, the chieftains and the men who bore an active part in it, on their return to their native land, must have made it the subject of their rehearsals, and the fountain of their renown.

HISTORY and Poetry immediately seized on these great events, and transmitted them to posterity. DICTYUS of Crete, and DARES of Phrygia, are said to have been the first who gave a historical detail of that war in which they themselves had been actually engaged<sup>1</sup>.

THE

<sup>1</sup> THE narratives, however, which pass under these names, are justly exploded as spurious by the Learned. The real author of the performance now inscribed with the name of DICTYUS of Crete, is supposed to have lived in the time of CONSTANTINE, or not very long after. He probably assumed this name, in consequence of the report which prevailed, that a person so called had accompanied IDOMENEUS, King of Crete, to the Trojan war, and committed to writing the facts which happened there; of many of which he had been an eye-witness. TZETZES asserts that this was the author whom HOMER followed. *Cbil.* 5. *hist.* 30. With respect to the work in question now extant in Latin, it has been supposed to be a translation by Q. SEPTIMIUS, a Roman. VOSSIUS is of opinion that it is an original performance, but that the author had read the Greek writers with great care. The style is not inelegant. The story of a fissure of the earth having happened in the island of Crete, and having disclosed the tomb of DICTYUS, where his History of the Trojan war, written in Phœnician characters and deposited in a leaden casket, was found by shepherds, is a palpable fiction.

It is pretended that the other performance now extant, and which bears the name of DARES the Phrygian, is a translation done by CORNELIUS NEPOS, according to a Letter commonly prefixed to the work, and addressed to SALLUST. But this Letter, and the work itself, are equally spurious, and by no means worthy of the pen of the Author of *the Lives of the excellent Commanders*. DARES, the priest of VULCAN, is mentioned by HOMER near the beginning of the fifth book of the Iliad; also his two sons PHEGEUS and IDÆUS, the former of whom was slain by DIOMEDE, but the latter was rescued by VULCAN.

See



THE warriors who had perished under the walls of Troy, immediately partook of Divine honours. The tomb of ACHILLES smoked with incense, and the plain of Troy became a spacious temple, where strangers from all nations considered it as a religious duty to offer sacrifices previous to their entering the Hellespont.

METHINKS I behold the great HOMER, at his first arrival on that famous coast, doing the noblest of all homage to the shade of ACHILLES. I see him walking with a grave and thoughtful mien, between the banks of the Simois and the Scamander. His eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling, glances" over all the surrounding objects; a thousand scenes at once occur to his recollection; his heart melts; his imagination catches fire; the plan of the *Iliad* is formed.

*Ut Ducis implevit visus veneranda vetustas—*

LUCAN. Phars. Lib. ix. 987.

When long the Chief his wand'ring eyes had cast

On ancient monuments of ages past—

ROWE.

E

See the Editions of these authors *in usum Delphini*, by the learned Madame DACIER, particularly that printed at Amsterdam in 1702; to which is prefixed a Dissertation concerning DICTYS, by PERIZONIUS. See also ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. Lib. xi. cap. 2. where it is said that DARES the Phrygian existed before HOMER, and wrote a Phrygian-Iliad, which was extant in ÆLIAN's time. D.

' If HOMER was blind, it is generally allowed that he was so only in his old age. "HOMER," says Madame DACIER, "has painted to the life a vast number of circumstances, of which he would never have had the least knowledge, if he had not had very good eyes." Pref. to her translation of the Iliad. D.

E



I take HERODOTUS to be, next after HOMER, the most ancient author who has given us any account of the Troad. According to that historian, the plain and places contiguous to Troy, were, long after the war, a subject of contention betwixt the Athenians and the Mityleneans. The latter maintained, that their right to possess the Troad was as well founded as that of the other Greeks, who, along with MENELAUS, had contributed to obtain the restitution of HELEN<sup>1</sup>.

I FIND no proof that this Father of Historians had ever made a journey to Troy; but at least I can aver, that his description of the march of XERXES perfectly agrees with my Map. "XERXES's army," says he, "on quitting Lydia, continued their march to the river Caïcus<sup>2</sup> and the territory of Myfia; and then leaving mount Cana<sup>3</sup> on the left; they proceeded from the Caïcus by Atornis<sup>4</sup> to the city of Carina<sup>5</sup>. Thence they marched through the plain of Thebé<sup>6</sup>, passing by the city of Adramyttium<sup>7</sup> and the Pelasgic Antandros<sup>8</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. Lib. v. cap. 93.

<sup>2</sup> A river of Myfia, to the north of the Hermus. It discharges itself into the sea near the city of Elœa, opposite the island of Lesbos.

<sup>3</sup> A mountain situate, according to HERODOTUS, to the north-west of the river Caïcus.

<sup>4</sup> A small town nearly opposite to the island of Lesbos.

<sup>5</sup> A town of Myfia to the north of Atornis.

<sup>6</sup> A town situate to the south of the city of Troy, called also Hypoplacia, and mentioned repeatedly by HOMER. It was the native place of ANDROMACHE. See Iliad. i. 366. vi. 397. &c.

<sup>7</sup> A maritime town, with a haven, situate a little to the north of the above mentioned places.

<sup>8</sup> A city of the Troad to the north-west of Adramyttium. The left branch of the range of mount Ida reached near it.

“ and then advancing towards the left branch of mount Ida”,  
 “ they entered the Trojan territory. While they remained en-  
 “ camped all night at the foot of that mountain, a dreadful  
 “ storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, destroyed a  
 “ considerable number of the men. When the army arrived  
 “ at the Scamander, it was the first river they had met with  
 “ since they marched from Sardes, whose stream was imme-  
 “ diately exhausted, and found insufficient to supply the men  
 “ and the sumpter beasts with drink. When XERXES arrived at  
 “ this river, he went up to the citadel of PRIAM, being very  
 “ desirous to take a view of the place. When he had surveyed  
 “ it, and learned all the particulars concerning it, he sacrificed  
 “ a thousand oxen to MINERVA *Ilias*; and the Magi poured out  
 “ libations to the heroes. After these ceremonies, an alarm  
 “ spread through the camp the ensuing night. At day-break  
 “ the army marched from thence, having on the left the cities  
 “ of Rhætéum, Ophrynéum and Dardanus, which is contiguous  
 “ to Abydos; and on the right the Gergithæ-Teucrians<sup>2</sup>.”

ÆSCHINES the orator went to Troy out of mere curiosity,  
 and to search for the monuments mentioned in the Iliad. He  
 was accompanied in the journey by a young man called CIMON,  
 the levity and imprudence of whose deportment hindered

F 2

him

<sup>2</sup> This is certainly the meaning of τῇ Ἰδῇ δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα, —and not “ having  
 “ Ida on the left,” according to the common way of rendering it. For it was impossible  
 that the army of XERXES, marching along the coast from Sardes to Abydos, could have  
 Mount Ida on the left. Besides, if that had been the meaning, the historian would have  
 said ἐν ἀριστερῇ, as immediately above, and also a little below. Χεῖρ is used metaphorically  
 to signify a branch or arm of the range of hills of which Ida is composed. D.

<sup>2</sup> Επειστο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατός κ. τ. λ. HERODOT. Lib. vii. cap. 42.



him from executing his design, and even exposed him to the greatest dangers. The adventure, which obliged them both to leave the Troad with all possible expedition, is much to be regretted. It is told very particularly in the tenth of the Letters ascribed to ÆSCHINES, to which I must beg leave to refer the curious reader<sup>1</sup>.

“ WHEN ALEXANDER” (according to what has been collected from various ancient authors by FREINSHEMIUS, in his Supplement to QUINTUS CURTIUS) “ arrived at Sestos, he commanded PARMENIO to proceed with the greatest part of his troops to Abydos on the opposite shore, having allotted for this service an hundred and sixty gallies, with a great number of transports. Himself, at the head of the rest, marches to Eleus, a place sacred to PROTESILAUS, whose sepulchre under a mound of earth had been constructed there, and surrounded by a plantation of elms, possessed of a miraculous quality. The leaves which spring forth in the early time of the day from the boughs that are turned towards Troy, immediately fall off, while the others retain an uniform verdure ; and they are thus fancied to represent the hard fate of that hero, who having, in the flower of his age, accompanied his countrymen into Asia, was the first victim of the Trojan war. On this occasion, ALEXANDER performed funeral honours to his *manes*, praying that his own lot might be more auspicious when he should reach the hostile shore. He then  
“ failed

<sup>1</sup> See the note on p. 22. M. l'Abbé AUGER, the translator of DEMOSTHENES, &c. thinks that three of these letters, *vis.* the seventh and the two last are not genuine ; and Dr TAYLOR, the editor of DEMOSTHENES and ÆSCHINES, is decidedly of opinion that they are all spurious. D.



“ failed with fifty vessels for Sigéum and the Grecian haven, so  
“ called because it had received the Grecian ships in the time  
“ of the Trojan war. When he reached the middle of the  
“ Hellespont, acting as the pilot of his own ship, he sacrificed  
“ a bull to NEPTUNE and the Nereids, and he cast into the  
“ deep, as a gift to the sea gods, the golden vase out of which  
“ he had poured a libation. When the fleet arrived at the  
“ haven, the King, throwing a spear upon the shore, leaped  
“ forth foremost with great dexterity, and called the gods to  
“ witness, *That with their assistance he claimed the possession of Asia*  
“ *by a just and honourable war.* Then altars were erected upon  
“ the spot where he had disembarked, to JUPITER the Protector,  
“ to MINERVA and HERCULES. He also commanded altars to  
“ be erected in that part of Europe whence he had set sail.

“ HE next proceeded into the fields where the seat of ancient  
“ Troy was still pointed out ; and there, while he was exploring  
“ with avidity the monuments of heroic achievements, an in-  
“ habitant of the place tendered to him the Lyre of PARIS.  
“ *I set no value,* said he, *upon an instrument which ministers to la-*  
“ *sciviousness and sloth; but give me the lyre of ACHILLES, who*  
“ *sounded the praises of heroes with the same band by which he sur-*  
“ *passed their exploits.* For as he was accustomed to admire  
“ ACHILLES, and to glory in his descent from that hero, he  
“ stripped himself; and ran with his friends quite naked round  
“ his tomb; he even anointed it, and adorned it with a crown.  
“ HEPHÆSTION too crowned the tomb of PATROCLUS, as an  
“ emblem that the friendship which subsisted between himself  
“ and ALEXANDER, was as ardent as that which PATROCLUS  
“ had borne to ACHILLES. Amidst the variety of discourse  
“ which

“ which the character of that hero suggested, the King remarked, *That ACHILLES appeared to be doubly fortunate, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and an excellent poet to celebrate his praises after his death.* ALEXANDER likewise made oblations to the other heroes, whose tombs are to be seen in those regions’.”

WHEN the Romans went over into Asia in order to drive ANTIOCHUS out of the country which he possessed on this side of Mount Taurus, they were not indifferent to the attractions of that territory from whence their chief men pretended to derive their origin. But the cruel FIMBRIA shewed a disposition the reverse of that of his countrymen. Having assumed the command of the army, in consequence of the death of VALERIUS FLACCUS the Consul, whom he had caused to be slain in Bithynia, he advanced soon after to Ilium. The Trojans shut their gates at his approach, but sent deputies to SYLLA, offering to submit to that General. SYLLA advised them to submit to FIMBRIA, and promised soon to come to their relief, encouraging them, by putting them in mind that the Romans were originally descended from the Trojans. At the same time, he sent a message to FIMBRIA, desiring him to use the Trojans with lenity. But this mandate of SYLLA piqued the haughty FIMBRIA, who immediately besieged the town, took it on the eleventh day, and boasted that he had, in so short a time, made himself master of a city which AGAMEMNON, with a thousand ships, had employed ten years in subduing. “ Yes,” replied one of the Trojan inhabitants, “ but we had not a HECTOR to defend us.”

FIMBRIA

\* Supplement. in Q. CURTIUM. Lib. II. cap. 3.



FIMBRIA razed the city to the ground, and massacred every one of the inhabitants who fell in his way<sup>1</sup>. SYLLA having made peace with MITHRIDATES, led his army against FIMBRIA, who being soon reduced to a desperate situation, laid violent hands on himself. SYLLA endeavoured to afford some consolation to the distressed Trojans, and honoured them with many marks of his favour.

CÆSAR, a rival worthy of ALEXANDER, and who even imitated him in his admiration of HOMER, wished to renew the alliance which connected him with the Trojans. He granted to them many privileges, and loaded them with benefits. If we may believe the Author of *The Pharsalia*, that warrior, while he was in pursuit of POMPEY, penetrated into the Troad, with the design to examine the monuments to be seen there.

*Sigeasque petit famæ mirator arenas,  
Et Simoentis aquas, et Graio nobile busto  
Rhection, et multum debentes vatibus umbras.*

LUCAN. Phars. ix. 961.

From hence the curious Victor passing o'er,  
Admiring, sought the famed *Sigæan* shore.  
There might he tombs of Grecian Chiefs behold,  
Renown'd in sacred verse by Bards of old.

ROWE.

POMPEY carried off the statue of AJAX which adorned the temple erected near his tomb, and conveyed it into Egypt.  
AUGUSTUS

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 887, 888. Edit. Amst. 1707. Anc. Univ. Hist. Vol. IX. p. 560. &c, Edit. 8vo. SANDYS, in his *Relation of a Journey, begun A. D. 1610, containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, &c.* supposes that the city destroyed by FIMBRIA was *Alexandria Troas*, above described. D.

AUGUSTUS afterwards caused it to be restored to the Trojans. JULIA, the daughter of that Emperor, we are told, in crossing the plain of Troy, had well nigh been drowned in the Scamander. AGRIPPA her husband shewed that he was much affected by that accident, and expressed a great degree of indignation against the Trojans, as if they could have been responsible for it<sup>1</sup>.

FROM all these illustrious travellers we have learned nothing respecting the Troad, farther than that its monuments, in their days, still excited the curiosity of personages of the highest rank. We may conclude also, that Princes and women, in those times, travelled, as they do now, out of ambition or vanity, or to prevent the time from hanging heavy on their hands. ALEXANDER shewed a respect for ACHILLES, that he might establish his kindred with that hero, and create a belief that he was the heir of his courage. The Julian family exempted the Trojans from taxes, in order to revive the idea of its being descended from that of PRIAM; and when the infamous JULIA caused them to be subjected to an unjust fine, it was no doubt because she did not receive those honours from them which she thought she had reason to expect<sup>2</sup>. But let us return to those enlightened travellers, whose accounts have survived the wreck of ages, and descended to our times.

It is a very surprising circumstance that the greatest Geographers among the ancients, PAUSANIAS and STRABO, never visited the Troad. The former speaks of it upon the report of a certain Mysian, who related to him a number of prodigies respecting

<sup>1</sup> See BAYLE's Dict. Art. Scamander, Note (r).

<sup>2</sup> BAYLE's Dict. *ubi supra*.



respecting the tomb of AJAX'. The latter depends upon the testimony of one DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, in whom he does not seem to have much confidence, whom he sometimes accuses of contradiction, whom he finds often differing from HOMER, but whose description he adopts for want, it should seem, of one that was more accurate<sup>2</sup>.

I HAVE not been able to find in ancient history any farther traces of the monuments and the rivers of the Troad. I leave to the learned the task of continuing these researches, and of filling up, if they can, by additional evidence, the vast chasm which the barbarism of the lower empire seems to have occasioned between the last of the ancient authors, and the first of the moderns, who have spoken of the Troad<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Græciæ Descriptio, p. 66. Edit. Hanov. 1613.

<sup>2</sup> Geograph. Lib. xiii. *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> It is recorded by several of the *Byzantine Writers*, that when CONSTANTINE had resolved to build an Imperial City in the East, he first selected the plain of Troy as the proper spot for that great enterprise, and had actually begun to carry into execution a design which had formerly been conceived, first by JULIUS, and then by AUGUSTUS CÆSAR; nor did he desist, or give the preference to Byzantium, till, as they say, he was warned by a heavenly vision. HERMIAS SOZOMENUS, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History, and flourished about the end of the fourth century, only fifty or sixty years after the building of Constantinople, thus expresses himself: Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίου, παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὑπερὶ τὸν Ἀϊαντος τάφον, κ. τ. λ. *Having taken possession of the plain which lies before Ilium, near the Hellespont, beyond the tomb of AJAX, where the Greeks, at the time when they were engaged in the expedition against Troy, are said to have had the station for their ships and their tents, he there marked out the proper form and size of a city, and he constructed gates in a conspicuous place, which still at this day are seen at sea by those who sail along the coast. While he was employed in this undertaking, God appeared to him by night, and warned him to go in quest of another place.* Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. 3.

I SHOULD not, however, be surpris'd to find, that after the establishment of Christianity, the temples and the tombs of the ancient warriors had been consigned to oblivion. They must have ceased to attract the homage of the nations, when a new religion represented them as the altars of a sacrilegious worship. It is universally known with what zeal CLEMENS Alexandrinus opposed this species of idolatry, and how vehemently he inveighed against the first Christians for lavishing on those numerous Tombs that incense which was due only to the Deity<sup>1</sup>.

BUT why did not the priests of the lower Empire demolish those monuments? Why did they leave a single trace of them behind? It was because they were well acquainted with the veneration entertained by the Greeks for the sepulchres of the Dead, and perhaps they could not have devised a more effectual method of bringing them back to their ancient worship, and of alienating them from the new, than to attempt to violate the tombs of their warriors<sup>2</sup>.

THE Turks, who have become the masters of the Troad by the subversion and conquest of the Empire, carry their respect for the Dead still farther perhaps than the Greeks over whom they have triumphed. Public or private interest is not a sufficient

THE same circumstance is mentioned by ZOSIMUS, Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 34.; THEOPHANES, Chronogr. p. 14. Edit. Venet. 1729; ZONARAS, Annal. Tom. ii. p. 4. Edit du CANGE, Venet. 1729; and NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, Eccles. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. 48. See also The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by the learned Mr GIBBON, chap. xvii. Vol. II. p. 9. Edit. 4to, who, in relating this fact, refers to the above authors as his authority. D.

<sup>1</sup> Cohortatio ad Gentes, cap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> See DIODOR. SICUL. Lib. xiii. p. 610. Vol. I. Edit. Wesselingii.



cient pretext with them, as it is with us, for violating the sepulchres of the dead. Wo be to the man who should be guilty of such a profanation ! Accordingly, they are most vigilant in resisting the attempts of strangers, who are curious to pry into those sacred mounts, the use of which they have learned from tradition, and for which they have preserved the same name that was given to them in the most remote antiquity.

Dr POCOCKE is, I believe, the first of the Moderns who penetrated into the Troad, or at least who has attempted to give a description of it. This part of his work, though full of errors, and in many respects obscure, proved however to me a very useful guide in my researches. That traveller had seen the greatest part of the tombs, the valley of Thymbra, and the river Thymbrius ; but he made no map of the country ; and being too fond an admirer of STRABO, he suffered himself to be misled by that geographer rather than trust to his own eyes, which probably would have brought him to agree with HOMER, by a faithful survey of Nature. It was not, however, in his time, either easy or prudent to produce a geometrical apparatus to the view of the Turks. That people had not then experienced the yoke of the Russians, and they were not so tractable as they are now<sup>1</sup>.

## G 2

## SINCE

\* THERE were three modern travellers who severally visited the Troad before POCOCKE, and who deserve some notice. These were BELON of Mans, SANDYS and Lady MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE. BELON, or, as he is frequently called, BELLONIUS, travelled into several eastern countries, and published his remarks under the following title : *Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouvez en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges ; par PIERRE BELON du Mans : à Paris, 1588.* This book was translated into Latin, and repeatedly published by CLUSIUS the Botanist. The author,

SINCE the time of POCOCKE, Dr RICHARD CHANDLER, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of the Society of Antiquaries of

author, in sailing along the coast near the isle of Tenedos, evidently mistook the ruins of Alexandria Troas, which he saw distinctly, for those of ancient Troy; and having gone ashore with some of his attendants, he examined them, and has given a description of what he observed. He mentions in particular, that "they were four hours, sometimes on foot, and " sometimes on horseback, in making the circuit of these ruins; that without the walls, " large marble burying-places were to be seen, of ancient workmanship, made each of one " stone, in the manner of a large coffin, with the lids entire; that after they had en- " circled the ruins of the walls, they began to examine the interior parts of the city, " which consisted only of a mass of ruins, amongst which they discerned the base of a " certain sort of structure, which they supposed to have formerly been a *pharos* or light- " house for the direction of mariners." They likewise saw " many cisterns entire, for " the purpose of collecting rain water, as there are very few fountains to be met with in " all that part of the country." Liv. ii. chap. vi. He mentions also several other particulars applicable to what might be supposed the state of Alexandria Troas, more than two centuries ago, the time when he visited the place. For since that period the Turks have been in the constant habit of carrying off many of the sarcophagi and other marble remains, as hath been remarked both by Dr CHANDLER and the Author of this Memoir.

"As to the rivers Simois and Xanthus," continues BELON, "so much celebrated by " the poets, which watered the fields of Troy, we have nothing further to relate, than " that they are such diminutive brooks as would hardly maintain a loach or a minnow; " for in summer they are dried up, and in winter a goose would find it difficult to swim " in them." *Ibid.*

It does not appear that this traveller penetrated at all into the region of Troy. Immediately after examining the ruins of Alexandria Troas, we find him again at sea. But when he was off the Sigéan promontory, which he calls *Cavo Santa Maria*, he observed the ruins of an ancient structure, which they took to be that dedicated, to ACHILLES. "And in reality," says he, "there is still to be seen in that place a large mound of earth " like a *little hill*, which is possibly the *tomb of ACHILLES*, and which the inhabitants of " Mitylené caused to be erected in honour of that hero." *Ibid. Chap. vii.*

It is to be regretted that SANDYS did not bestow more time in examining the Troad, as he was a traveller of great sagacity and learning. We have the testimony of POPE in his  
favour,



of London, visited the Troad some years ago. The confidence and ease with which this learned and respectable traveller speaks

favour, who says that he “ was both a geographer and critic of great accuracy, as well  
 “ as a traveller of great veracity.” See the note on the 196th line of book xxii. of  
 POPE’s translation of the Iliad. “ With the morning,” says this traveller, “ they [the  
 “ mariners] renewed their labour, rowing along the chalky shore of the lesser *Phrygia*.  
 “ Now, against Cape *Janizari* (desirous to see those celebrated fields where once stood  
 “ *Ilium* the glory of *Asia*, that had afforded to rarest wits so plentiful an argument) with  
 “ much importunity and promise of reward (it being a matter of danger) I got them to  
 “ set me ashore. When accompanied with two or three of them, we ascended the not  
 “ high Promontory, level above, and crowned with a ruinous city, whose imperfect walls  
 “ do shew to the sea their antiquity.—This is that famous Promontory of *Sigéum*, ho-  
 “ noured with the sepulchre of *ACHILLES*, which *ALEXANDER* (visiting in his Asian ex-  
 “ pedition) covered with flowers, and ran naked about it, as then the custom was in fu-  
 “ nerals, sacrificing to the ghost of his kinsman, whom he reputed most happy, that had  
 “ such a trumpet as *HOMER* to resound his virtues.—

“ IN the plain beyond us (for we durst not straggle farther from the shore) we beheld  
 “ where once stood *Ilium*, by *ILUS* founded; called *Troy* promiscuously of *Tros*.—Who  
 “ hath not heard of this glorious city, the former taking, the ten years war, and latter,  
 “ final subversion?—

“ NORTH of this Promontory is that of *Rhatéum*, celebrated for the sepulchre of *AJAX*  
 “ and his statue; by *ANTONIUS* transported into *Egypt*, and restored unto the *Rhatensis*  
 “ by *AUGUSTUS*.—’Twixt these two Capes there lieth a spacious valley. Nearer *Sigéum*  
 “ was the station for the *Grecian* navy; but nearer *Rhatéum*, the river *Simois* (now called  
 “ *Simores*) dischargeth itself into the *Hellepont*. This draweth his birth from the top of  
 “ *Ida*, the highest mountain of *Phrygia*;—from whence descend four rivers of principal  
 “ repute, *Æsepus* and *Granicus*;—these turn their streams to the north: *Simois* and *Sca-*  
 “ *mander* that regard the *Ægeum*. Two not far disjoining valleys there are that stretch  
 “ to each other, and join in an ample plain, (the theatre of those so renowned bicker-  
 “ ments) where stood that ancient *Ilium*, if not fortunate, not inglorious nor unrevenged.  
 “ —Through these valleys glide *Simois* and divine *Scamander*.—These rivers, though now  
 “ poor in streams, are not yet so contemptible as made by *BELLONIUS*, who perhaps mi-  
 “ staketh others for them (there being sundry rivulets that descend from the mountains)  
 “ as by all likelihood he hath done the site of the ancient *Troy*. For the ruins that are

“ now

speaks of the tombs of **ACHILLES**, **PATROCLUS**, **ANTILOCHUS** and **ÆSYETES** form a striking contrast to the cautious circum-  
spection

“ now so perspicuous, and by him related, do stand four miles west from the foresaid place, “ described by the poets, and determined of by Geographers,” &c. *A Relation of a Journey, begun An. Dom. 1616, containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, &c.* p. 19. &c. 3d Edit. Lond. 1627. See also *Dict. Hist.* par **BAYLE**, Artic. *Scamander*, Remark (E). **SANDYS** does not seem to have remained longer than one day in the region of Troy.

THE sprightly and ingenious Lady **MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE**, so well known as the boldest traveller of her sex, and as the author of the best written letters that ever were published in the English tongue, could not think of bidding adieu to Constantinople and the Hellespont, without paying a short visit to the region of Troy. This was so long ago as the year 1718. She mentions particularly Sestos and Abydos, from the former of which places she had a full view of Mount Ida. Her vessel anchored at the Promontory of Sigéum. “ My curiosity,” says she, “ supplied me with strength to climb to the top of it, to “ see the place where **ACHILLES** was buried, and where **ALEXANDER** ran naked round “ his tomb in honour of him.” Amidst the ruins of a city which she saw there, she found a curious marble, which Mr **MONTAGUE** ordered on board the ship, and which is the same with that mentioned by Dr **CHANDLER**, as now preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. She also observed the famous Sigéan inscription, and the bas-relief, both already mentioned, p. 16. “ We saw,” adds she, “ very plainly from this “ promontory the river Simois rolling from Mount Ida, and running through a very spa- “ cious valley. It is now a considerable river, and is called Simores. It is joined in the “ vale by the Scamander, which appeared a stream half-choaked with mud, but is per- “ haps large in the winter.—North of the Promontory of Sigéum we saw that of Rhæté- “ um, famed for the sepulchre of **AJAX**. While I viewed these celebrated fields, I ad- “ mired the exact geography of **HOMER**, whom I had in my hand.”—Without penetrating however into the country, she sailed next night to the coast near Alexandria Troas, rose at two in the morning, and went ashore to view those ruins. See her xlvth Letter.

**LE BRUYN**, in his account of *A Voyage to the Levant*, mentions his having been ashore at the plain of Troy. He took some drawings, but made no observations of any importance. **SPON** and **WHEELER**, travellers of great reputation, were also in the Troad in the year 1676; but they made a very short stay, and they have recorded nothing worthy of attention. See *Voyage d'Italie, &c.* par **SPON** et **WHEELER**, Tom. i. p. 117. A la Haye, 1724. D.



specification of Pococke. "I cannot but remark," says the latter, "if I may not be thought to give too much into conjectures, that these *possibly* may be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity, and the great one might be raised over the sepulchre of ACHILLES, as the other two might be on those of PATROCLUS and ANTILOCHUS, who were buried here'."—"We came between two barrows," says the former, "standing each in a vineyard or inclosure. One was that of ACHILLES and PATROCLUS, the other that of ANTILOCHUS son of Nestor. We had likewise in view the barrow of AJAX Telamon, and at a distance from it, on the side next Lectos, that of ÆSYETES'."

WHEN we read the work of Dr CHANDLER, we cannot suppose that he offered an ill founded opinion relative to the monuments of which he speaks. I am persuaded that he had good reasons for what he says; but I regret exceedingly that he should seem to annex so little importance to objects which demanded a most minute investigation. I blame him for having relied so much upon the credulity or upon the knowledge of his readers, to take it for granted that they would adopt, upon a bare assertion, the wonderful things which he tells them; and I blame him too for not deriving support from the conjectures of his celebrated countryman'. I find, however, in the union  
of

\* A Description of the East, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 105.

\* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 42.

† In justice to Dr CHANDLER, it ought to be observed, that our Author had not adverted to the last paragraph of the Preface to *Travels in Asia Minor*. It is there said that "the Writer is aware that he may be asked by the more curious Reader, on what foundation he has mentioned in this volume certain *Barrows* now extant, as those of  
ACHILLES

of their respectable testimonies, sufficient authority to enable me to meet mistrust and incredulity with confidence, and I hope with success.

I SHOULD have wished most cordially likewise to have called to my aid the observations of Mr WOOD, the celebrated author of the *Description of Palmyra*, and of the *Essay on the Genius of HOMER*. But I have not the smallest hesitation to declare, for I will presently prove it, that Mr WOOD was quite bewildered in the Troad.

## C H A P.

“ACHILLES and other classical Heroes. The Essay advertised at the end of it is partly intended to satisfy any such Enquirer.”

THE advertisement here referred to is as follows: “*Speedily will be published, AN ESSAY ON THE TROAD; Or, a Review of the Geography, History and Antiquities of the Region of TROY.*” I cannot find, however, that this *Essay* has ever yet been published, though advertised more than fifteen years ago. From what Dr CHANDLER says in his Travels, it appears, that after penetrating into the region of Troy no farther than a journey of two hours, he abandoned the design of proceeding to the sources of the Simois and Scamander, having apprehended danger from desperate parties ranging about the country. In his Essay therefore on the Troad, no new information respecting the plain, the situation of ancient Troy, or the sources of the rivers, was to be expected. But as he saw, and had an opportunity of examining the monument of ACHILLES and of other classical Heroes, it is to be regretted, that so respectable and intelligent an Observer has not favoured the world with his particular remarks on these subjects. See *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 41. D.

\* See A comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troad, subjoined to Mr WOOD’s Essay on the Genius and Writings of HOMER.



## C H A P. VII.

*Error of Strabo on the subject of the Scamander.*

STRABO could not speak concerning the Troad to his readers from his own proper observations, as he had never been upon the spot ; he therefore endeavoured to procure intelligence from some well informed Geographer. DEMETRIUS of Scepsis was the person whose description he adopted ; but the manner in which he endeavours to create in others a confidence in that Author, seems to prove that he reposed but little in him himself. “ There is a contradiction in this,” says he in one place, “ but I approve of the rest, and think that in most things we “ should rely on DEMETRIUS, a man of knowledge, and who “ was a native of the place, and so much interested in the “ subject, that he composed thirty books on little more than “ sixty lines of HOMER’s catalogue of the Trojans’.”—“ DEMETRIUS of Scepsis,” adds he in another place, “ a man “ well acquainted with the country, as he was born there, gives “ the following description : *There is a bill of Ida, called Cotylus, “ situate about 120 stadia above Scepsis. From this issues the Scamander, the Granicus and the Æsepus.*” He mentions likewise,

H from

‘ Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Διογενὲς Ἰχθυὶς κ. τ. λ. Geograph. p. 900. Edit. Amst. 1707 ; p. 603. Edit. Paris. 1620.

from the same author, that “ *the Scamander runs towards the west, while the two others run towards the north* <sup>1</sup>.”

STRABO having once admitted the doctrine of this observer, should have endeavoured in the next place to reconcile it with the poems of HOMER. He feels the necessity of this; and he is candid enough not to disguise the difficulty. “ But, says he, “ the Poet’s description furnishes a difficult subject for discussion:—

Κρενὴ δ’ ἴκανον καλλιρρόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ  
 Δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσει Σκαμάνδρε δινέεντος.  
 Ἡ μὲν γὰρ θ’ ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς  
 Γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὥσει πυρὸς αἰδομένοιο.  
 Ἡ δ’ ἐτέρη θέρει προρέει, εἰκυῖα χαλάζη,  
 Ἡ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυτάλλω.<sup>2</sup>

“ *They came to two beautifully flowing springs,—the place I mean*  
 “ *where the two fountains of the whirling Scamander burst forth;*  
 “ *for that river having a double source, the one flows with a*  
 “ *stream which is warm, and a smoke also rises from it all around*  
 “ *like that of a burning fire; the other issues forth in summer, cold*  
 “ *as hail, or the chilling snow, or the transparent ice.—This,”*  
 says STRABO, “ is difficult; for no warm springs are now to  
 “ be found in the place; nor is the source of the Scamander  
 “ there, but in the mountain; and there are not two of them,  
 “ but only one. It is probable then that the warm springs  
 “ have

<sup>1</sup> Ἐμπειρος δ’ ἐν τῶν τόπων κ. τ. λ. p. 898. Edit. Amst. 1707; p. 602. Edit. Paris. 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. xxii. 147.



“ have disappeared, but that the cold spring running from the  
 “ Scamander by a subterraneous passage, rises up near this  
 “ place ; or because this water is hard by the Scamander, it  
 “ likewise is called the fountain of that river ; for in this way  
 “ a river may be said to have many sources.’” This is cer-  
 tainly a very obscure and unsatisfactory explication ; and DE-  
 METRIUS and STRABO are equally censurable, the one for his  
 negligence in committing the blunder, and the other for adopt-  
 ing it, and endeavouring to give it authenticity <sup>2</sup>.

## MOUNT

<sup>1</sup> Geograph. Lib. xiii. p. 899. Edit. Amst. 1707.

<sup>2</sup> FROM the latter part of the passage quoted, it is not indeed easy to col-  
 lect any precise meaning ; but in the preceding part STRABO is clear and ex-  
 plicit in following DEMETRIUS, who places the source of the Scamander in Mount  
 Cotylus : And this may be considered as the passage which has misled, in a greater  
 or less degree, almost all the modern travellers who have visited the Troad. Into what  
 errors and absurdities it contributed to lead Mr Wood in particular, will be point-  
 ed out in a subsequent chapter. But there is a passage even in HOMER, which, on a slight  
 view, might be thought by some to favour STRABO’s idea on this subject. Near the be-  
 ginning of the xiith book of the Iliad, the Poet mentions, in the way of a prophecy, that  
 the rampart which had been constructed by the Greeks to defend them from the violence  
 of the Trojans, would soon be demolished by the torrents which were to descend from  
 the *Idæan mountains* : and in the enumeration of these streams, we find the name of the  
 Scamander :

“Οττοι ἀπ’ Ἰδαίων ὄρεων ἄλαδι προΐεντι  
 Ῥῆσος θ’, Ἑπτάπορος, Καρησός, τε Ῥοδῖος τε  
 Γρήνικός τε, καὶ Αἴσηπος, δῖός τε Σκαμάνδρος  
 Καὶ Σιμόις—— ver. 19.

*All the streams which run down from the Idæan mountains to the sea, Rhesus, Heptaporus, Carefus, Rhodius, Granicus. Æsepus, the divine Scamander, and the Simois*——But the Sca-  
 mander might be said, with sufficient propriety, to descend from the Idæan mountains ;  
 as the eminence of *Bounarbachî*, where the sources of that river are really to be found,  
 was a part of the range of hills which went all under the name of *Idæan mountains*.

MOUNT Corylus, where DEMETRIUS places the source of the Scamander, instead of the source of the Simois, is at the distance of fifteen leagues from the sea-shore. It is the *Kas-dabi*, or *mountain of the goose*, which I have described in my journal'; and, next to mount Gargarum, forms the highest summit of the range of Ida, still, at this day, abounding in fallow-deer, as in the days of HOMER, and encompassed with other mountains, whose branches extend westward all the way to the sea, and eastward towards Myfia. The Grecian army could never have made war amidst these inaccessible mountains. If therefore we follow STRABO, or rather DEMETRIUS, we must suppose that HOMER has deceived us, when he tells us, that the greatest battles were fought betwixt the banks of the two rivers, that the city of Troy was situate near the sources of the Scamander, and that the Greeks frequently, on the same day, marched close up to the walls, and then returned to their camp.

I MIGHT have declined the task of entering into a detail of this sort, and into so minute a refutation of STRABO. It was sufficient for me to be sensible of my perfect correspondence with

With respect to the other rivers here mentioned as flowing in the same direction with the Scamander and the Simois, that circumstance was produced in the spirit of Heroic poetry, for a particular purpose, by APOLLO and NEPTUNE. See the sequel in the Iliad.

It may be worth while to remark, that POPE has translated this passage very inaccurately. He represents all these streams as coming down from the *summits* of Ida:

Then Ida's *summits* pour'd their watery store.

He mistakes one of the rivers, gives another a false quantity, and misrepresents the character of the Scamander;

"*Æfopus, Granicus, with mingled force,*

"*And Xanthus foaming from his fruitful source.*" D.

\* See above, p. 32.



with HOMER, by proving that the sources of the Scamander are still to be found at the head of the plain of Troy, in the very place where it is requisite for them to be situate, in order to justify the different incidents in the Iliad; and that the river which they form has all those characters the Poet ascribes to it.

BUT having thus exposed some of the errors into which STRABO has fallen by trusting to DEMETRIUS, I shall now do justice to several parts of his description which I have found to be accurate. For though this justly celebrated author mistakes the sources of the Scamander, and removes them ten leagues from the plain where they at present *are*, and doubtless *were* in his own time, this has not hindered him from discovering a competent knowledge of his subject in many other particulars.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Examination of some passages of Strabo.*

ON inspecting the Map of the plain of Troy, we immediately perceive many marks of resemblance betwixt what is there delineated and that which STRABO has described, as far as he can be understood ; for on perusing his account of the Troad, his greatest admirers must own, that however exact he may be in many respects, yet, in several passages, he is absolutely unintelligible.

“ IN those places,” says he after DEMETRIUS, “ two curved  
 “ ranges of hills extend from the mountains of Ida towards the  
 “ sea, the one directed towards Rhœtéum, and the other to-  
 “ wards Sigéum, and, forming each a semi-circular line, ter-  
 “ minate in the plain at the same distance from the sea with  
 “ modern Ilium. This town indeed is situate in the intermedi-  
 “ ate space betwixt the *termination* of those bending hills we  
 “ have mentioned, as the *old structure* was betwixt that of their  
 “ *commencement* ; and within them was comprehended the *Simoi-*  
 “ *sian plain*, through which the Simois runs, and the *Scaman-*  
 “ *drian*, through which the Scamander runs. Now, this is  
 “ also properly called the plain of Troy, and was, according  
 “ to the Poet, the scene of the greatest number of battles ; for  
 “ it is of considerable breadth ; and there we see exhibited the  
 “ places



“ places mentioned by the Poet, the grove of *wild fig-trees*, the  
 “ tomb of *ÆSYETES*, *Batieia*, the monument of *ILUS* ; and the  
 “ rivers *Scamander* and *Simois*, the one approaching towards  
 “ *Sigéum*, the other towards *Rhœtéum*, unite their waters in the  
 “ front of New Ilium, and at a little distance from it ; and then  
 “ discharge themselves towards *Sigéum*, and form what is called  
 “ *Stoma-limné*, the *mouth-lake*’.”

THUS far STRABO could not have been more exact, though the map had been before his eyes. The plain where the village of *Bounarbachî* is situate, is in reality skirted by two hills somewhat semi-circular, one of which is directed towards *Sigéum*, and the other towards *Rhœtéum*. Most of the objects mentioned by the Poet, are still to be recognised at this day ; the wild fig-trees, the tomb of *ÆSYETES*, the monument of *ILUS*, the *Scamander*, whose course is directed towards *Sigéum*, and the *Simois*, which runs towards *Rhœtéum*. These two rivers indeed formerly united their streams, and proceeded in one current, until just before their discharge into the sea, near the *Sigéan* promontory, they formed a marsh, which is still observable at this day ; but now they no longer join their waters. The *Scamander*, as may be observed on the map, follows a new direction. No wild figs now grow in the immediate vicinity of *Bounarbachî*, but they are to be found in different parts of the plain, and on the neighbouring mountains. *Batieia*, or the tomb of *MYRINNA*, has yielded to the ravages of time ; but its situation may clearly be inferred from the known objects which surround the place.

“ NEXT,”

<sup>1</sup> Geograph. p. 892. Edit. Amst. 1707.

"NEXT," continues STRABO, "comes Rhoetëum, a town situate on an eminence ; and near it a continued sandy beach, beside which is *Aiantëum*, to wit, a monument and shrine of AJAX, and a statue<sup>1</sup>."

HERE the original is again somewhat obscure and perplexed ; but as far as the sense can be collected, it agrees in general with the Map.

"THE extent of this coast from Rhoetëum to Sigëum and ACHILLES's tomb, failing in a straight line, is *sixty* stadia. It lies all along below modern Ilium, near the haven of the Greeks, distant from it about twelve stadia<sup>2</sup>."

THE distance between the two promontories, ascertained by actual measurement, is nearly one half less than what STRABO here rates it at, but exactly conformable with that assigned by PLINY<sup>3</sup>. With respect to the distance betwixt New Ilium and the haven of the Greeks, or the sea, how can we rely on the accuracy of STRABO, who settles it here at *twelve* stadia, and two pages after seems to extend it to *twenty*<sup>4</sup>.

"A LITTLE above this is the *village of the Ilians*, where it is thought that *Ancient Ilium* was formerly situate, thirty stadia distant

<sup>1</sup> Pag. 890.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Nat. Hist. Lib. v. cap. 33.

<sup>4</sup> THE passage here referred to is as follows : "Ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ ναύσταθμον πρὸς Σιγίῳ πλησίον δὲ καὶ Ἰλιάδων ἐκδίδωσι, δίχων τὸ Ἴλιον σταδίων ἑκοσίων. For the station is near Sigëum ; and the Scamander discharges itself likewise near it, at the distance of twenty stadia from Ilium. STRABO, p. 894. What immediately follows is very obscure ; but if it were rightly explained, perhaps it might free STRABO from the charge of inconsistency. This valuable author still stands very much in need of an intelligent and expert editor ; for though much was done by the learned ISAAC CASSAUBON, much is still requisite for elucidating many difficulties and obscurities which occur in the text of STRABO. The version of XYLANDER is extremely erroneous. CASSAUBON complained of it, but he left it untouched. D.



“ distant from New-Ilium, and ten stadia above the village of  
 “ the Ilians, is *the beautiful Coloné*, a sort of gently rising ground,  
 “ extending five stadia, and near to which the Simois flows<sup>1</sup>.”

THERE are still some traces of resemblance here betwixt STRABO's description and our Map; but after the specimen of inaccuracy just remarked in a preceding measurement, we must be cautious in trusting implicitly to the present. The pleasant hills, which extend between the villages of *Tchiblak* and *Aktché* on the banks of the Simois, can be no other than *Callicoloné*, from whose summits MARS, “ like a black tempest, exhorted the  
 “ Trojans with a loud voice<sup>2</sup>.” STRABO places these hills forty stadia higher up than New Ilium, and informs us, that they stretched five stadia along the banks of the Simois. In reality, according as they remove from Tchiblak, which lies about forty stadia from Ancient Troy, their tops, which are covered with turf, gradually lose their rich and mellow appearance, and become sterile, rocky and steep. With respect to the *village of the Ilians*, which *was thought* to occupy the seat of Ancient Troy, STRABO cannot be supposed to have adopted that opinion, since he had said before, that Ancient Troy was situate on *the spot where the two semi-circular chains of hills have their origin*<sup>3</sup>.

## I

“ THE

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 892. *ad fin.* Edit. Amst. 1707.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. xx. 50.

<sup>3</sup> THE passage here referred to is translated above, p. 62. The original is as follows :  
 Τὸτο μὲν δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν λοχθιτῶν ὀγκῶν εἶναι τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς.  
*This town indeed [New Ilium] is situate in the intermediate space betwixt the termination of these bending hills we have mentioned, as the ancient structure was betwixt that of their commencement.* STRABO, p. 892. This is quite clear and explicit. XYLANDER entirely mistakes the meaning of ὀγκῶν, when he translates it *convallium*, as if it had been ἀγκῶν. D.

“ THE plain of *Thymbra* is at no great distance from Ancient  
 “ Troy ; and it is watered by the river *Thymbrius*, which dis-  
 “ charges itself into the *Scamander*. On the banks of the  
 “ *Thymbrius* is the temple of *Thymbræan APOLLO* <sup>1</sup>.”

THE opening into the valley of *Thymbra* is betwixt New and Old Troy ; and whatever it be that STRABO is pleased to say of it, (for it is again difficult to discover his real meaning) it was nearer the former than the latter of these two cities. The *Thymbrius*, after washing this valley, formerly discharged itself into the united waters of the *Simois* and *Scamander*, which united stream STRABO calls the *Scamander* only, without doubt because the *Simois* being frequently dried up, the two rivers, after their confluence, retained the name of that one of them which was the most constant in bearing the tribute of its waters to the sea. The mouth of the *Thymbrius* has not changed its place ; but its waters, ever since the diversion of the *Scamander* into another channel, are received by the *Simois* alone. The ruins of the temple of *APOLLO* are still to be seen in the valley of *Thymbra*, upon the banks of the *Thymbrius*, near the village of *Halil-eli* <sup>2</sup>.

“ THE monument which is shewn for the tomb of *ÆSVETES*,  
 “ is near the road leading to *Alexandria* <sup>3</sup>.”

ABOUT a mile above *Erkeffighi*, where that large monument is still to be seen, it appears in reality by the side of the road which formerly led from New *Ilium* to *Alexandria Troas*. It is even impossible, by reason of the mountains, to go from  
 Bounarbachi

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 893. κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν—is here translated as if it were τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἵσται κατὰ—a sense which it is thought it may admit of.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> STRABO, p. 895. Edit. Amst. 1707.



Bounarbachî to Alexandria, without passing near this monument ; and thus it is situate upon the road both from New and from Old Troy to Alexandria.

“ THAT part of the plain which enters among the mountains is narrow, extending partly to the south all the way to the vicinity of *Scepsis*, and partly to the north, all the way to *Zelea*, a city of the Lycians’.”

IN this description of STRABO, we may distinctly recognise the narrow valley bordered with precipices, where the Simois rolls its course, and which reaches to the south from the plain of Bounarbachî, of which it is only a continuation all the way to that of *Ené* near to *Eskikuptchu*, the ancient *Scepsis*. It may be observed likewise, that this second part of the plain changes its direction at *Ené* away from the south ; but the limits of the Map are not sufficiently comprehensive to admit a representation of it to its full extent, that is to say, all the way to Cotylus, and the ancient territories of the Lycians, which in fact are situate towards the north.

THE plain of Troy then has not changed its appearance since the days of STRABO. I had sufficient authority for placing Ancient Troy at the *commencement* of the chains of hills, and New Ilium at their *termination* ; nor could that Geographer accuse me of inaccuracy respecting situations so clearly pointed out by himself. A minute investigation has enabled me to discover the site of both the Cities ; and therefore there never will be any necessity to have recourse, with Mr WOOD, to earthquakes, of which no symptoms can be discovered in the plain of Troy ; but where, on the contrary, every circumstance con-

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 Bounarbachi

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 893. κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν—is here translated as if it were τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἵστί κατὰ—a sense which it is thought it may admit of.

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<sup>3</sup> STRABO, p. 895. Edit. Amst. 1707.



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<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 891. Edit. Amst. 1707.

curs to prove, that never any such have existed :—there will, I say, be no necessity to have recourse to any such expedient, with a view to explain the disappearance or the destruction of monuments, rivers, and valleys, which are still to be found in the very place where HOMER saw them<sup>1</sup> ; and where STRABO himself could not have failed to find them, if, instead of referring to the authority of DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, he had taken the trouble to visit the Troad in person.

It is surprising that Dr CHANDLER, while he thinks it proper to inform his readers, that “ the Simois has been mistaken “ for the Scamander,” should have fallen into the very error he wishes to prevent, by asserting, that “ the Simois was the “ river next Sigéum and Cape Baba or Lectos ;” when he ought to have affirmed this of the Scamander<sup>2</sup>.

HOMER, more accurate than all the travellers who have followed him in the plain of Troy, points out to us the relative situation of the Scamander with the utmost precision and accuracy, when he says :

————— ἴδε πῶ' Ἑκτωρ  
Πεύθετ'· ἐπεὶ ῥα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ μάχνατο πάσης,  
"Οχθας παρ ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου·—————<sup>3</sup>

*Nor did HECTOR know what was passing, as he was fighting on the left of all the army, near the banks of the river Scamander.*

C H A P.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Wood's Description of the Troad.

<sup>2</sup> Travels in Asia Minor, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. xi. 497.



*Carte de la Plaine de Troye par Pope. M. Pops. Map of the Plain of Troy.*

*To face page 69. of the Translation.*



*Troja cum Locis pertinentibus. 1. Porta Scamander. 2. Caput Scamander. 3. Fontes Scamander. 4. Collis prope Simois. 5. Batis seu Sepulcrum Myrines. 6. Ili Monumentum. 7. Tumulus Hectoris. A. A. Murus Achaearum. B. Locus Paganus ante muros. C. C. Locus Paganus. D. D. Locus Paganus. E. E. Locus Paganus. F. F. Locus Paganus. G. G. Locus Paganus. H. H. Locus Paganus. I. I. Locus Paganus. K. K. Locus Paganus. L. L. Locus Paganus. M. M. Locus Paganus. N. N. Locus Paganus. O. O. Locus Paganus. P. P. Locus Paganus. Q. Q. Locus Paganus. R. R. Locus Paganus. S. S. Locus Paganus. T. T. Locus Paganus. U. U. Locus Paganus. V. V. Locus Paganus. W. W. Locus Paganus. X. X. Locus Paganus. Y. Y. Locus Paganus. Z. Z. Locus Paganus.*



## C H A P. IX.

*Examination of Pope's Map of the Plain of Troy.*

**T**HE asperity with which Mr WOOD has censured the Map which accompanies the translation of the Iliad by the celebrated Mr POPE, excited my curiosity to examine it, and to compare it with my own'. From the manner in which it is drawn, it is easy to perceive that it is not the work of a Geographer; for it does not exhibit a geometrical plan of the country, according to the usual method, but gives a sort of perspective view of it, in the manner of a landskip.

THIS error is of little consequence in the eyes of the learned; and I would excuse POPE himself for committing it, provided his draught, such as it is, had been accurate, and if we could have properly applied to it the different circumstances of the Trojan war, of which, in his Essay, he gives a most minute and complete description. But such extraordinary mistakes appear upon the face of this Map, that I was immediately disposed to believe with Mr WOOD, that they could only have arisen from the unskilfulness of the engraver, who had transferred to the right the objects which were intended to occupy the left. How indeed can it be supposed that POPE was so very ignorant, as to place the promontory of Sigéum on the left of the Grecian army?

His

<sup>1</sup> See An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of HOMER, p. 87.



HIS errors respecting the tombs of *ÆSYETES* and *ILUS* are not so gross or so unpardonable as the other. He has placed the former of these monuments betwixt the two rivers on the left bank of the Scamander, while, in fact, it is to be found upon the right. But the Poet is satisfied with pointing out this tomb, as the most advantageous spot which *POLITES*, the son of *PRIAM*, could have pitched upon for observing the motions of the Greeks<sup>1</sup>; he was not so scrupulous as to mark out the precise mathematical point of its situation.

WITH respect to the tomb of *ILUS*, *POPE* has evidently interpreted *HOMER*'s meaning too strictly, when he places it half way betwixt the camp of the Greeks and the city of Troy. That was not the spot which *HOMER* meant to point out, when he tells us that the tomb of *ILUS* was in the *middle of the plain*. *STRABO* explains his meaning, by telling us, that *ILUS* was buried in the *middle of the plain*, because he was the first who had ventured to inhabit it<sup>2</sup>.

As to the rest, his notion is perfectly right respecting the situation of the Grecian camp betwixt the two promontories, the confluence of the two rivers at no great distance from the ships, the general shape of the plain, the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander, the distance of the city from the sea, and the two sources of the Scamander in the neighbourhood of the city. But what could be his motive for placing these last on the side opposite to that where they are found in reality? I bestowed a good deal of reflection on this circumstance, and with the greater anxiety, that

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. ii. 791.

<sup>2</sup> *STRABO*, p. 886. Edit. Amst. 1707.

that among all those who have written any thing on the subject of the Troad, few are so interesting as POPE.

MIGHT not we suppose that this eminent author, having remarked somewhere in the Iliad, that the sources of the Scamander were to the west; and accustomed, moreover, to consider the left side of the map as the west, as is usually the case, did thus adjust every other situation, such as that of Sigéum, that of the Simois, &c. so as to agree with this fundamental principle? It is thus (if I may be allowed to suppose an eminent poet to be but an indifferent geographer) that the errors of the map in question may perhaps be accounted for, which, however, with all its imperfections, must have cost POPE an infinite deal of pains, and required on his part an uncommon power of arrangement. This at least is the most satisfactory way I can discover of explaining how the same person might produce an erroneous Map, and a most complete and accurate *Essay on HOMER'S Battles*.

I WAS so much delighted, Gentlemen, with the exact conformity of that Essay with my own Map, that I could not deny myself the satisfaction of submitting it to your review, in hopes that I should thus enhance your confidence in my labours, by an authority which not only has great weight among you, but with the rest of the Republic of Letters.

“THE ancient city of Troy,” says POPE<sup>1</sup>, “stood at a  
“greater distance from the sea than those ruins which have  
“since been shewn for it. This may be gathered from the  
“791<sup>st</sup> verse of the fifth book of the Iliad, where it is said,  
“that

<sup>1</sup> Conclusion of *An Essay on HOMER'S Battles*, prefixed to the fifth book of his Translation of the Iliad.



“ that the Trojans never durst fall out of the walls of their  
 “ town till the retirement of ACHILLES, but afterwards com-  
 “ bated the Grecians at their very ships *far from the city*. For  
 “ had Troy stood (as STRABO observes) so nigh the *sea-shore*,  
 “ it had been madness in the Greeks not to have built any for-  
 “ tification before their fleet till the tenth year of the siege,  
 “ when the enemy was so near them; and, on the other  
 “ hand, it had been cowardice in the Trojans not to have at-  
 “ tempted any thing all that time, against an army that lay un-  
 “ fortified and untrenched<sup>1</sup>. Besides, the intermediate space  
 “ had been too small to afford a field for so many various ad-  
 “ ventures and actions of war. The places about Troy parti-  
 “ cularly mentioned by HOMER, lie in this order:

“ 1. THE *Scæan gate*. This opened to the field of battle,  
 “ and was that through which the Trojans made their ex-  
 “ cursions. Close to this stood the *beech-tree*, sacred to JUPI-  
 “ TER. 2. The *hill of wild fig-trees*. It joined to the walls of  
 “ Troy on one side, and extended to the high-way on the other.  
 “ The first appears from what ANDROMACHE says, that *the*  
 “ *walls were in danger of being scaled from this hill*<sup>2</sup>; and the  
 “ last from what is mentioned in the twenty-second book of  
 “ the Iliad<sup>3</sup>. 3. The *two springs of Scamander*. These were a  
 “ little higher on the same high way<sup>4</sup>. 4. *Callicoloné*, the name  
 “ of a pleasant hill that lay near the Simois, on the other side  
 “ of the town<sup>5</sup>. 5. *Batieia*, or the sepulchre of MYRINNA,  
 “ stood a little before the city in the plain<sup>6</sup>. 6. The *monument*

“ of

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 893. Edit. Amst. 1707.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. vi. 432.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxii. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. xxii. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. xx. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ii. 813.

“ of ILUS, near the middle of the plain<sup>1</sup>. 7. The *tomb of Æsye-*  
 “ TES commanded the prospect of the fleet, and that part of  
 “ the sea-coast<sup>2</sup>. ”

AFTER having made us acquainted with the situation of the principal objects near the city, and which were situate in the plain, our author traces out the fields of the different battles.

“ IT seems,” says he, “ by the 467<sup>th</sup> verse of the second  
 “ Iliad, that the Grecian army was drawn up, under the seve-  
 “ ral leaders, by the banks of Scamander, on that side towards  
 “ the ships; in the mean time, that of Troy and the auxiliaries  
 “ was ranged in order at MYRINNA’s sepulchre<sup>3</sup>. The place  
 “ of the *first battle*, where DIOMEDE performs his exploits, was  
 “ near the joining of Simois and Scamander; for JUNO and  
 “ PALLAS coming to him, alight at the confluence of those  
 “ rivers<sup>4</sup>; and that the Greeks had not yet past the stream,  
 “ but fought on that side next the fleet, appears from the place  
 “ where JUNO says, *the Trojans now brave them at their very*  
 “ *ships*<sup>5</sup>. But in the beginning of the sixth book, the place of  
 “ the battle is specified to be between the rivers Simois and  
 “ Scamander.—

“ THE engagement in the eighth book, is evidently close to  
 “ the Grecian fortification on the shore; and in the eleventh  
 “ book, the battle is chiefly about ILUS’s tomb. In the twelfth,  
 “ thirteenth and fourteenth, about the fortification of the  
 “ Greeks; and in the fifteenth, at the *ships*.

K

“ IN

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xi. 166.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. v. 773.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 793.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 791.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 815.



“ IN the sixteenth, the Trojans being repulsed by PATRO-  
 “ CLUS, they engage between the fleet, the river and the Gre-  
 “ cian wall<sup>1</sup>. PATROCLUS still advancing, they fight at the  
 “ gates of Troy<sup>2</sup>. In the seventeenth, the fight about the  
 “ body of PATROCLUS is under the Trojan wall<sup>3</sup>. His body  
 “ being carried off, HECTOR and ÆNEAS pursue the Greeks  
 “ to the fortification<sup>4</sup>. And in the eighteenth, upon ACHIL-  
 “ LES’s appearing, they retire and encamp without the fortifi-  
 “ cation.

“ IN the twentieth, the fight is still on that side next the sea,  
 “ because the Trojans, being pursued by ACHILLES, pass over  
 “ the Scamander as they run towards Troy<sup>5</sup>.”

POPE seems surpris’d that HOMER has not expressed the manner in which the armies passed the river. The reason of his silence on that subject is easily explained. The Scamander is but a rivulet about fifteen feet broad, and three feet deep. POPE might have suspected this to be the reason, since he has himself very properly remarked, that “ the following battles  
 “ are either *in the river itself*, or between that and the city.” How could an engagement have taken place in a river of any considerable depth?

C H A P.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xvi. 396.

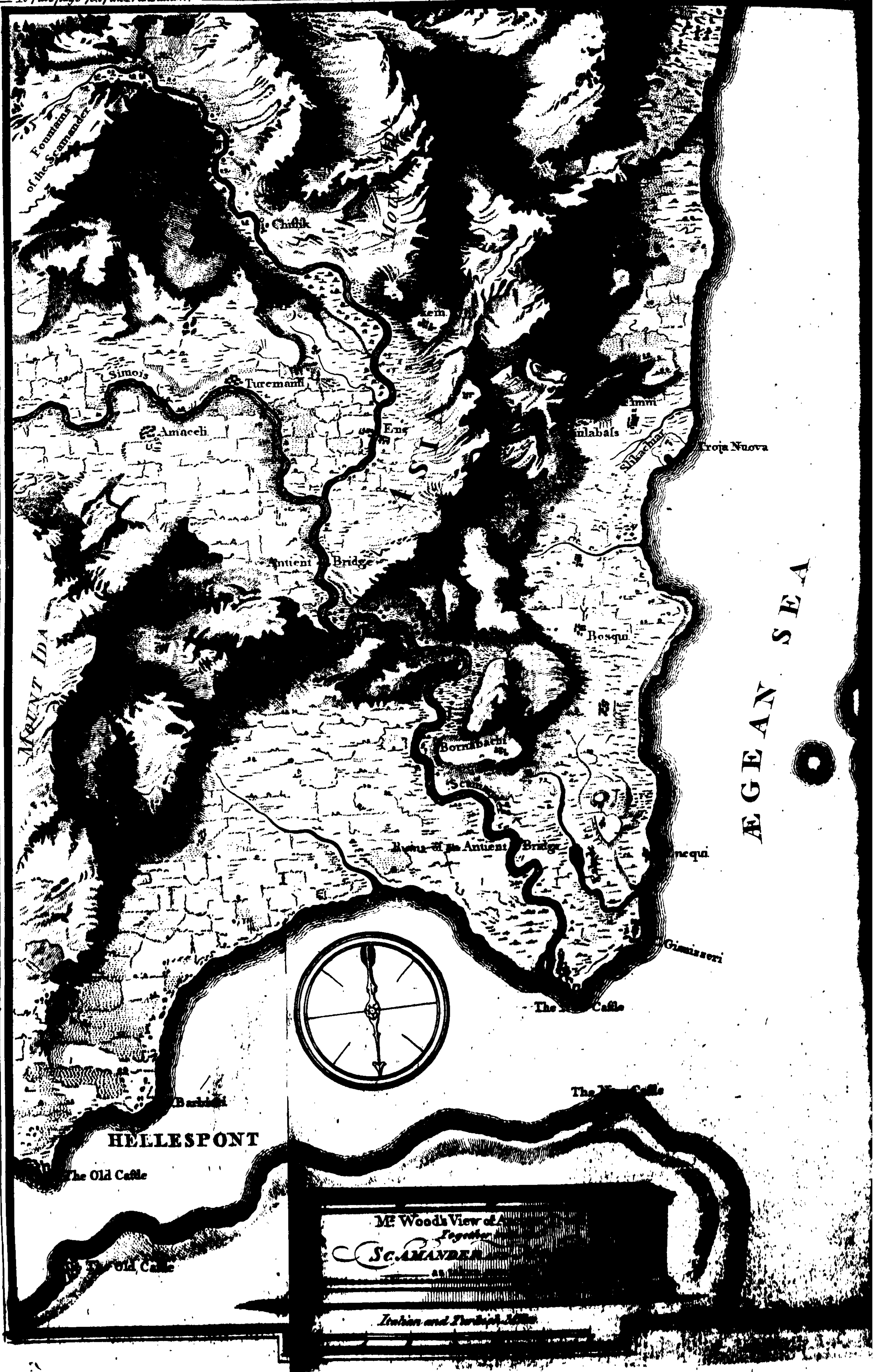
<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 700.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xvii. 403.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. xvii. 760.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. xx. 1. &c.







## C H A P. X.

*Examination of Mr Wood's Map.*

**A** NEGLECT of the opinion and of the efforts of others, is the natural result of a consciousness of one's own superiority; and though a sentiment of that kind may be deemed somewhat arrogant, yet it has some claim to indulgence when it is really attended with success. But when, in open contempt of every guide, we wander far away from the truth, we then forfeit all title to mercy, and become obnoxious to the rigour of criticism.

I DO not hesitate to assert, as I shall presently prove it, that Mr WOOD<sup>1</sup> has viewed the Troad erroneously. That part of his Essay on HOMER is not merely imperfect; it is most undoubtedly destitute of all merit. But we need not be surprised that, while the principal object of that traveller was to communicate a knowledge of the interesting ruins of Palmyra and Balbec, he was not able to bestow such time and attention upon the plain of Troy as it merited. It would not have been any crime in Mr WOOD to have overlooked it entirely; but he has certainly incurred a high degree of blame, by having allowed

K 2

himself

<sup>1</sup> "An author," says the accurate Mr GIBBON, "who in general seems to have disappointed the expectation of the public as a critic, and still more as a traveller." See the Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. ii. p. 8. Edit. 4to.

himself to convert the whole into a mass of confusion, when he might have studied it with POCOCKE's book in his hand.

By tracing this otherwise respectable writer, you will be surprised at the trouble he has taken to find out the site of ancient Troy, and the sources of the Scamander, at the distance of upwards of fifteen leagues from the sea. You will be surprised that he should have seen the Scamander<sup>1</sup>, that he should even have sketched it in his map without knowing it. You will wonder that he should have made no mention of those extraordinary monuments which at least attracted the attention of POCOCKE; and that he should not have taken the smallest notice of that celebrated traveller.

“WHEN we look upon the regions of Troas,” says Mr WOOD, “as represented in my Map, it will be found, I believe, “to differ from the history of the country, as exhibited by “HOMER<sup>2</sup>.” So much the worse. How happens it that you have found the great Poet every where agreeing with Nature, and only failing in point of accuracy in the very places which he ought to have observed and painted with the utmost degree of care’?

“THIS

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Troade, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> “Not only the permanent and durable objects of his description, such as his rock, “hill, dale, promontory, &c. continue in many instances to bear unquestionable testimony “of his correctness, and shew, by a strict propriety of his epithets, how faithfully they “were copied; but even his more fading and changeable landscape, his shady grove, verdant lawn, and flowery mead, his pasture and tillage, with all his varieties of corn, wine, “and oil, agree surprisingly with the present face of those countries.” WOOD on the original Genius of HOMER, p. 75. See also p. 131, &c. p. 295.



“ THIS difference,” continues Mr WOOD, “ consists in  
 “ having the distance of Troy from the sea increased ; for the  
 “ sea, by an accretion of land, is farther off than it was of  
 “ old’.” But pray, Mr WOOD, what proof have you that the  
 Troad is farther enlarged to the extent of ten leagues ; for no  
 fewer are requisite to authorise you to place the city of Troy  
 at the sources of that torrent which you call the Scamander ?  
 Besides, in what particular part of the Troad has this accretion  
 happened, and to what cause can it be ascribed ? Has the Si-  
 mois extended the plain by the sand brought down by its in-  
 undations, and lodged at its mouth ? It is easy to ascertain by  
 measurement any increase that may have happened to the  
 plain between the two promontories. It is even easy to prove  
 that no considerable increase can exist there, because the impe-  
 tuous currents of the Hellespont constantly prevent this, by  
 sweeping the sands away into the Ægean sea, as fast as the river  
 accumulates them at its mouth<sup>1</sup>.

It is not at the mouth of the Simois then that the accretion  
 in question can have taken place. The ruins of Alexandria  
 Troas are still seen in the same spot where that city formerly  
 stood. The high promontory of Sigéum, together with the  
 projecting point of the Chersonesus, still forms the entry to the  
 Hellespont the same as in the days of ACHILLES and HOMER<sup>2</sup>.  
 The

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Troade, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> “ Nothing can express more happily than this term (*insaniens*) the contrariety of cur-  
 “ rents for which that streight (the Hellespont) is remarkable.” *Description of the Troade*,  
 p. 319. See also at the bottom of p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr WOOD’s own exact description of the coast, as it appeared to him sailing  
 northwards from Cape Baba ; which completely refutes his hypothesis of an accretion of  
 land at the mouth of the Simois. Pag. 316, 317, D.

The question then yet recurs, where has that prodigious revolution been produced which Mr Wood summons to his aid?

“ I AM likewise very certain,” says the same author a little after, “ that the situation of the Scamander is considerably  
“ changed from what it was in the days of HOMER ; and the  
“ reasons for my opinion are these : The hot spring, according  
“ to the Poet, was one of the sources of this river ; but it is  
“ now much lower than the present source, and has no commu-  
“ nication with the Scamander’ .”

ONE needs only to take a slight view of Mr Wood’s Map to be convinced that it is a negligent performance, and done in a hurry. Neither villages nor roads nor monuments are observable in it. When the author speaks of a hot spring lower down, he does not mean that of Bounarbachî ; for he was ignorant of it : He doubtless speaks of the hot mineral springs of *Lidja* near Alexandria<sup>2</sup>. In short, that I may not dwell needlessly on a criticism to which this author has exposed himself throughout his description, the following I take to be the method in which he has proceeded in his observations, and to be the origin of the errors he has committed.

PERSUADED that there was a confluence somewhere of the waters of the Simois and the Scamander, he traced the course of the former all the way up to Bounarbachî, where the plain terminates, without attaining his object ; because the Scamander by that time had been diverted from its ancient bed, and he had not the good luck to perceive this change, the observation of which proved the real cause of my principal discoveries. He saw indeed the springs of Bounarbachî ; but whether he  
had

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Troade, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 7.



had examined them with no degree of attention, or had seen them at a time of the year when there is little difference in their temperature<sup>1</sup>; whether he was ignorant of the Turkish and Greek languages, so as to be able to derive no information from the Aga, and from the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, the fact is, that he did not know the real sources of the Scamander.

FROM the instant he quitted the plain, and penetrated among the defiles and mountains of Ida, his error became incurable. The farther he receded from the sea, the descriptions of HOMER appeared to him the more inexplicable. Any other person in his situation, either more modest or less obstinate, would

<sup>1</sup> THE time of the year when Mr Wood saw them was the end of July, or beginning of August. See the commencement of his Description, p. 310. That he never should once suppose that the springs of Bounarbachi were the sources of the Scamander, must be ascribed to the pre-conceived idea he had strongly formed from reading STRABO, that the origin of that river was in mount CORYLUS. See above, p. 59. note. Nor could his attention be roused during the particular season he happened to be there, (as M. CHEVALIER's was, in the end of September) by feeling the water warm, or by observing a smoke arising from it; the cold season being requisite for exhibiting that phenomenon. Indeed he only takes notice of those springs which gushed from the rock.

BUT if Mr Wood was not fortunate enough to think of the springs of Bounarbachi being the sources of the Scamander, it is not to be supposed that he could fancy what he calls "a drain made by a Turkish governor," to be the new canal of that river; for it is probable that this is the same which M. CHEVALIER describes as such. "Bornabaschi," says Mr Wood, p. 325. "signifies *the fountain-head*, and there is a *fine rivulet* so called. "This gives name to the village — which consists of half a dozen huts. The water "here gushes out of the rock in such quantities, as to form immediately a stream more "considerable than any that we saw in the channel of the Scamander. However, hardly any of this water joins that river, but stagnates among *the reeds* of the marshy "plain, notwithstanding a drain has been made by a Turkish governor to carry it downward to *the Ægean sea*." D.

would have returned the way he went, or at least have relinquished the pursuit, and owned that he had been unsuccessful. But our traveller is intrepid ; difficulties only have the effect to augment his courage ; he ceases not in his progress till he arrives beyond inhospitable mountains, at a torrent which unites itself with the Simois in the neighbourhood of Ené ; and this is the Scamander of Mr Wood !

THE next thing to be done is to search for the city of Troy at the sources of this torrent. Our traveller's courage does not fail him ; he sees plainly that he has gone astray, but he is loth to leave the Troad till he has transformed it into a chaos. He seeks for a partner in misfortune, and finds one in STRABO, who indeed is mistaken like himself, but not upon the spot, as Mr Wood alleges<sup>1</sup> ; for it is well known, and he ought not to have been ignorant of it, that STRABO speaks of the Troad only on the authority of DEMETRIUS of Scepsis.

AFTER invoking earthquakes and convulsions of nature ; after descanting idly upon the situation of Ancient Troy ; after giving even a flowery description of the source of that hideous torrent which washes the walls of Ené ; after condescending to embellish it with a fine basin, a beautiful plane-tree, and a romantic wood<sup>2</sup> ; in short, after finding in this torrent all the marks of the Scamander, he concludes, upon authorities derived from history, that the modern map of Troy must be curtailed of several miles, in order to accommodate it to the ancient<sup>3</sup>.

THUS

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Troade, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 308. 323, 324.



Thus we see that Mr WOOD could compose maps and tear them to pieces with equal facility ; but Nature will not suffer herself thus to be mutilated ; and when any of her revolutions are appealed to for the purpose of supporting a system, authority for them must be derived from historical facts well authenticated, or from some remaining traces of the former existence of such disorders.

L.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XI.

*Comparison of the Scamander with the Simois.*

THE velocity with which the sources of the Scamander gush forth, shews that they descend from a place of great elevation<sup>1</sup>. The river formed by them preserves this extraordinary rapidity till it arrives at the place where it enters its new artificial canal<sup>2</sup>. The frequent eddies which its surface exhibits, and which are caused by the dashing of its waters against the great number of winding banks they meet with, are probably the reason why the poet gives it the epithet of Διήεις, *whirling*, or *full of eddies*<sup>3</sup>.

THIS river is never subject to any increase or diminution; its waters are as pure and pellucid as crystal<sup>4</sup>; its borders are

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> 'Αλλ' ὅτι δὴ πόρον ἴξον ὑγρόϊος ποταμοῖο  
ἔδινθον ΔΙΝΗΕΝΤΟΣ——

Iliad. xxi. 1.

*But when they arrived at the bed of the beautifully flowing river, the whirling Xanthus.*  
See also Iliad. vii. 329.

——— ἀλλὰ Σκαμάνδρος  
ὅσῃ ΔΙΝΗΕΙΣ———

Ibid. 124. et alibi passim.

*But the whirling Scamander shall bear———*

<sup>4</sup> ——— ἑΥΡΡΕΙΟΣ ποταμοῖο—as above.

——— εἴχετο δ' ἈΓΛΑΑΝ ὕδαρ. Ibid. 345.

*And his limpid water was restrained.*



are covered with flowers<sup>1</sup>; the same sort of trees and plants which grew near it when it was attacked by VULCAN, grow there still; willows, lote-trees, ash-trees, and reeds, are yet to be seen on its banks, and eels are still caught in it<sup>2</sup>.

BUT if the great HOMER excites admiration by an accurate use of epithets and particular attributes which he assigns to the Scamander, his comparison of that river with the Simois is no less striking. He characterises both of them in a manner perfectly analogous to nature, and to the state in which they are found at present. When the Scamander, in struggling with ACHILLES, is afraid of being vanquished by that warrior, he calls the Simois to his assistance:

Φίλε κασίγνητε, σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφοτέροί περ  
Σχώμεν, —————

L 2

Ἄλλ'

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπλαν ἐν λιμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἈΝΘΕΜΟΕΝΤΙ  
Μυρίοι ————— Iliad. ii. 467.

The legions crowd Scamander's *flowery* side. POPE.

<sup>2</sup> Καίοντο πτελέαι τε, καὶ ἰτέαι, ἠδὲ μυρῖκαι  
Καίοντο δὲ λωτὸς τ', θρύον, ἠδὲ κύπριον,  
Τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἄλλ' ποταμοῖο πεφύκει·  
Τείρουτ' ἐγχελύες τε, καὶ ἰχθύες, ————— Ibid. xxi. 350.

The trees in flaming rows to ashes turn  
The flow'ry lotos, and the tam'risk burn,  
Broad elm, and cypress rising in a spire;  
The watery willows hiss before the fire,  
Now glow the waves, the fishes pant for breath,  
The eels lie twisting in the pangs of death. POPE.

See above, p. 25. It may be remarked that POPE has rendered κύπριον, *the cypress*, which ought to have been *cyperus* or *cyperum*. See PLIN. Hist. Nat. Lib. xxi. c. 70.

Ἄλλ' ἐπάμυνε τάχιστα, καὶ ἐμπίπληθι ῥέεθρα  
 Ὑδατος ἐκ πηγέων, πάντας δ' ὀρόθυνον ἐναύλας·  
 Ἴση δὲ μέγα κῦμα· πολὺν δ' ὀρυμαγδὸν ὄρει  
 Φιτρῶν καὶ λάων —————<sup>1</sup>

*Come, my brother, let us unite our strength to restrain this redoubted hero,—come instantly to my aid, and let your current flow with abundance of water from its sources, muster up all your streams, raise a mighty torrent, and come roaring down with a profusion of rocks, and of trees torn from the roots.*—HOMER could not have given a truer picture of the feebleness of the Scamander and the furious power of the Simois<sup>2</sup>.

BUT

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxi. 308. See above, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that HOMER, always true to Nature, never speaks of *fishes* being in the Simois, which he represents as an impetuous torrent.

Καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τευφάλαιαι  
 Κάππισσιν ἐν κοίῃσι, καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν. Iliad. xii. 22.

And gulphy Simois, rolling to the main  
 Helmets and shields and godlike heroes slain. POPE.

He may be supposed to allude to the character of this river in such a simile as the following :

Ὡς δ' ὅποτε πλήθον ποταμὸς πιδίονδε κἀττισσι  
 Χύμαρ' ἔχων κατ' ὄρεσφιν, ὁ παζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρῳ  
 Πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ἀζαλίαις πολλὰς δὲ τι πύκας  
 Ἐσφίριται, πολλὰν δὲ τ' ἀφυσγιστὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλει. Iliad. xi. 492.

*As when a copious river comes down upon the plain, in a torrent from the mountains, supplied with rain from JUPITER; and bears along with it many parched oaks, and many pines; and discharges a profusion of mud into the sea.*

I HAD not looked into the travels of DELLA VALLE, till the note on p. 51. was printed off. I find that this author was also in the Troad since the time of BELON and SANDYS,

in



BUT he is not satisfied with this picturesque description, he chooses to make us acquainted with the breadth of the Scamander :

————— ὁ δὲ πτέλεην ἔλε χερσὶν  
'Ευφύεα, μεγαλην· ἥ δ' ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἐριπῶσα

Κρημνὸν

in the year 1614 ; and I take this opportunity of mentioning him, chiefly on account of what he says of the two rivers.

WHEN he sailed in the freight of Tenedos, he had a view of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and mistaking them for the ruins of Ancient Troy, as BELON had done before him, he was seized with an ardent desire to go on shore. Being a native of Rome, his ardour was increased on reflecting that his ancient countrymen had always gloried in their fancied descent from the Trojans. He had read BELON, and he makes some remarks on the ruins similar to those of that author. He looked for the Simois and the Scamander ; and though he acknowledges he could not find any stream thereabouts, he never seems to have had any suspicion that the ruins he saw could not possibly be those of Ancient Troy. “ It is very true,” says he, “ that no such thing as “ running water is to be found near the town ; for as to the rivers Simois and Xanthus, “ I did not find them beside the inhabited places ; but their beds most probably are those “ to be found at the distance of about a league from this place, as I shall mention afterwards.” He then proceeds with a particular description of what he thinks the ruins of Troy, which, in a great measure, coincides with what has already been quoted from BELON and others. He takes peculiar pleasure in describing a palace he met with about a mile and a half from the town, which he fondly fancies might have once been that of PRIAM. After making several remarks, he adds, that he embarked for Tenedos, where he arrived with some difficulty, and slept there in the house of a Greek, who was very civil to him. The next evening he set out for the castles of the Hellespont ; but as the wind was contrary, and he was unwilling to return, he kept hovering about the coast of the Troad for two days. “ Having gone ashore,” says he, “ one morning, I met with a “ Greek, who pointed out to me, between two hills, a certain valley, in which was to be “ seen among the grass which almost covered it, a river said by the inhabitants to be the “ Xanthus, not that which runs in Lycia, but the same with Scamander, although they “ do not know it by this name. It is certainly by all appearance the very same ; both “ because it flows down from the mountain, which the people there no longer know to be “ Ida,

Κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσεν, ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα  
 "Οζοισιν πυκινῶσι· γεφύρωσεν δὲ μιν αὐτὸν,  
 Εἶσω πᾶσ' ἐριπῶσ'· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ λίμνης ἀνορέσας,  
 'Ηἴξεν πεδίῳ ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πέτεσθαι'.

ACHILLES, ready to be overwhelmed, *lays hold of a well grown tall elm, which, while he tore it away by the root, demolished the whole*

" Ida, and because it unites with another river, which is the *Simois*; or likewise from the  
 " place of its discharge into the sea; and lastly because there is no other river in that  
 " part of the country. They call it simply the River of the Troad, as they call Ida the  
 " Mountain of the Troad. I got a tolerable view of its course; but being rather a little too  
 " far off, on account of the long grass and willows, which made the approach to it diffi-  
 " cult, and which covered it, I could not obtain a full view of its bed, and its extent.  
 " Afterwards, as I shall mention, I had a better opportunity of judging of it." This pas-  
 sage is extremely curious, and agrees so well with what the ingenious Author of this Memoir  
 has said in his journal (see above, p. 24.) respecting that part of the bed of the Scamander  
 immediately adjoining to the *Simois*, that one would be tempted to conclude that DELLA  
 VALLE<sup>1</sup> had seen it previous to the making of the new canal which now diverts its waters  
 into the *Ægean* sea; and this will appear the more probable when we consider that this  
 traveller had not yet entered the Hellespont, but had gone ashore somewhere near the  
 spot where the new canal of the Scamander now discharges itself. Indeed it is evident  
 that the Greek who pointed out the valley to him, must have conducted him over the  
 very ground where this new canal now runs, quite to the banks of the Scamander.

He proceeds to inform his readers, that the wind still continuing cross, he returned to  
 Tenedos, where he waited for more favourable weather till the 9th of August, when he left  
 that island a second time, and in twenty hours arrived at " the *Cape of the Janizaries*,  
 " which is the port of *Sigtum*." He mentions that the town here is inhabited by Greeks,  
 and that he found very good water in the place. " After having carefully observed,"  
 says he, " every thing worth while, I again embarked, and in the evening, before sun-set,  
 " arrived at the spot where the river *Xanthus*, after its union with the *Simois*, discharges  
 " itself into the sea. I do not think," says he, " that BELON had ever seen this place,  
 " as he makes no mention of it; and I would not have ventured to say, after I had seen  
 " it, that the *Xanthus* and *Simois* were such small rivers as to be exhausted and dried up  
 " in

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxi. 242. See above, p. 25.



*whole bank, and, as it fell into the river, obstructed the current with its boughs. It served as a bridge for the hero, who thus having escaped from the water, made the best of his way through the plain.*

## CHAP.

“ in summer, and that in winter, when they abounded most in water, they were scarcely  
 “ observable, (see above, p. 52. note) since, according to the account of the inhabi-  
 “ tants of the country, vessels can easily enter at their common mouth, and advance up  
 “ their canal so far as ten miles.” *Les fameux Voyages de Pietro DELLA VALLE' Gentil-*  
*homme Romain, surnommé l'illustre Voyageur, à Paris, 1670, Tom. I. p. 11.—16.* With  
 respect to vessels sailing ten miles up the common channel of the two rivers, this au-  
 thor was evidently deceived. Indeed, if he had traced the Scamander down from the  
 place where he first saw it, to its confluence with the Simois, and thence to the sea, he  
 could have corrected the error respecting the extent to which he was told these rivers  
 were navigable ; but as he had gone ashore at different places, and had taken no mea-  
 surement of the distances, it is no wonder he was induced to believe the story of a navi-  
 gation for ten miles up ; especially as he might have read PLINY, who calls the Scaman-  
 der a *navigable* river, (*Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 33.*) and as he says (p. 16.) he saw a small  
 vessel, as he passed by, again in harbour, after having anchored in that river ; and also  
 when he reflected on the descriptions which HOMER and VIRGIL have given ; as—

—— *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis*

*Scuta virum ; galeasque, et fortia corpora volvit.*      ÆN. I. 104.

Where Simois' streams, encumbered with the slain,

Roll'd shields, and helms, and heroes to the main.      PITT.

'THIS traveller concludes all he has to say of the Troad, by mentioning, that after passing the next night near the shore, he continued his voyage next morning, and entered the strait of the Hellespont ; on which occasion he takes particular notice of the rapidity of the tide which flows there. D.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Tomb of Æsyetes.*

“ **L**OWER Egypt,” says Mr BRYANT, “ being a Flat, and  
 “ annually overflowed, the natives were obliged to  
 “ raise the soil on which they built their principal edifices, in  
 “ order to secure them from the inundation ; and many of  
 “ their sacred towers were erected upon conical mounds of  
 “ earth. But there were often hills of the same form con-  
 “ structed for religious purposes, upon which there was no  
 “ building. These were very common in Egypt. Hence we  
 “ read of Taphanis, or Taph-Hanes, Taph-Ofiris, Taph-Ose-  
 “ ris parva, and contra Taphias, in ANTONINUS ; all of this  
 “ country. In other parts were Taphioufa, Tapé, Taphufa,  
 “ Taporî, Taphus, Taphofus, Taphitis.

“ BUT as it was usual in ancient times to bury persons of  
 “ distinction under heaps of earth formed in this fashion, these  
 “ Tapha came to signify tombs, and almost all the sacred  
 “ mounds raised for religious purposes were looked upon as  
 “ monuments of deceased heroes. The Greeks speak of num-  
 “ berless sepulchral monuments which they have thus misin-  
 “ terpreted. They pretended to shew the tomb of DIONUSUS  
 “ at Delphi. They imagined that JUPITER was buried in  
 “ Crete<sup>1</sup>.”

Mr

<sup>1</sup> New System of Mythology, Vol. i. p. 449



Mr BRYANT here endeavours to prove, that the Greeks were mistaken in supposing what were sacred mounds to be the tombs of heroes. But the concurring testimony of HOMER and all antiquity is sufficient to convince us, that they had no other way of preserving their ashes than by depositing them under these hillocks<sup>1</sup>.

## Barrows

<sup>1</sup> THE names commonly used by HOMER for a sepulchral hillock of this kind, are, τύμβος, σῆμα, and χυτὴ γαῖα, in Latin, *tumulus*, *monumentum*, *tumulus aggestus*. Ἀιψύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, *near the tomb of ÆPYTUS*. Iliad. ii. 604. Τύμβῳ ἰσιδρεύσκων Μενέλαον, *trampling upon the tomb of MENELAUS*. Ibid. iv. 177. See also vii. 336. 435. where mention is made of a mound to be heaped up *for all indiscriminately in the plain*, ἀκρίτον ἐν πεδίῳ, which was done in the case of the multitude slain in battle. Σῆμα was more emphatic than τύμβος, and denoted a monument that was very *conspicuous*, as the word evidently imports, ἐσθμηνι τὸν τόπον τῆς ταφῆς, *it marks out the spot of interment*. See Iliad. ii. 814. vii. 86. xxiv. 16. Χυτὴ γαῖα particularly expresses the nature of the monuments, which consisted of *accumulated earth*. Ἀλλὰ μὲν τιθιμῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει. *But let a mound of earth cover me when I am dead*. Iliad. vi. 464. It is HECTOR who speaks. See also xiv. 114. xxiii. 256. Homer likewise uses the compound verb τυμβοχοῖω, which signifies *to construct a monument with a heap of earth*. See Iliad. xxi. 723. English writers commonly call such monuments by the name of *Barrows*. “I call them *Barrows*,” says Dr BORLASE, “because that name is commonly used; but in Cornwall we call them, much more properly *Burrows*; for Barrow signifies a place of defence, but Burrow is from *Byrig*, to hide or bury, and signifies a sepulchre, as what we call *Barrows* most certainly are.” *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 211. 2d Edit.

BUT HOMER is not the only ancient author who mentions this sort of sepulchral monument: Τὸν δὲ Νίνον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἔθαψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείαις, καὶ κατισκίασεν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ χῶμα παμμιγίδις, κ. τ. λ. SEMIRAMIS buried NINUS within the precincts of the palace, and erected over him a huge mound, in height nine stadia, and in breadth ten, according to CTESIAS; and as the city was situate near the Euphrates on the plain, the mound was seen at the distance of many stadia like a sort of citadel. DIODOR. SICUL. Lib. II. p. 120. Edit. Wesselingii. This height, however, may be supposed to be not perpendicular, but from the circumference of the base of the cone to its top, as Dr BORLASE has observed; for those mounds were all of a conical shape. χῶμα, the word used by DIODORUS, is literally *a mound*; in Latin, *agger*, *tumulus*. XENOPHON and PAUSANIAS both use μνῆμα. Τὸ μνῆμα κεχῶσθαι

Barrows of a fimilar shape, and of the fame fort, are to be found in all countries ; and wherever any trouble has been

*λίγεται, their monument is faid to be heaped up.* XENOPHON. Cyrop. lib. vii. cap. 4. The monument here meant is that which CYRUS conſtructed for ABRADATAS and PANTHEA. *Invite all the Perfians, ſays the ſame CYRUS on his deathbed, to repair to my monument* [ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦμὸν] *to congratulate with me, as I ſhall then be in a place of ſafety.* Ibid. lib. viii. c. 8. In the former of theſe paſſages from XENOPHON, mention is alſo made of a pillar, *στάλη*, erected over the monument of the deceaſed, with an inſcription in Syriac characters. A pillar likewise, in the way of ornament, was not uncommon in the time of the Trojan war, as we learn from HOMER. See Iliad. xvi. 457. where mention is made of conveying the body of the virtuous SARPEDON home to Lycia, that it may be particularly honoured—*τύμβῳ τε στάλῃ τε, both with a barrow and a pillar.* See alſo lib. xvii. 434.

PAUSANIAS, after mentioning that a tomb was conſtructed in the plain of Marathon for the Athenians who fell in the famous battle fought there againſt the Perfians ; and another for the Plataeans and for the ſlaves ; as the ſlaves then for the firſt time had ſerved in the army ; adds—*Καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἑστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνημα Μιλτιάδου τὸ Κίμωνος.* *And there is a monument apart for MILTIADES the ſon of CIMON.* Græciæ Deſcrip. p. 60. Edit. Hanov. 1613. See alſo VIRG. Æneid. xi. 210. LIV. lib. xxx. cap. 25.

THERE are a great many *Barrows* or conical hillocks in Cornwall, of ſome of which, *viz.* thoſe near St Auſtle, Dr STEPHEN WILLIAMS has given an account in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. “ The height and dimensions,” ſays he, “ of theſe *Barrows* are “ various, from four to thirty feet high, and from fifteen to one hundred and thirty “ broad ; but they always bear a regular proportion in their form. Some have a *Foffa* “ or ditch round their circumferences, others none ; ſome a ſmall circle of ſtones at the “ top, others none ; ſome a circle of ſtones round the extreme verge of their baſis.” He ſaw four of them opened by ſix Tinnors, who were employed on purpoſe by himſelf and another gentleman. After they had opened three of the number—“ though we had hi- “ therto,” ſays Dr WILLIAMS, “ found no *Urn*, yet being perſuaded by the unctuous “ black earth, and the cylindrical pits, in the centre of every one of the *Barrows*, the “ artful poſition of the ſtones to cover and guard them, and the foreign earth, that theſe “ *Barrows* were erected for *Sepulchres*, we reſolved to proceed farther.” And then he gives a particular deſcription of the opening of the fourth ; in which they found an *Urn*, carefully guarded by a great many ſtones, placed artfully all around it. “ This urn,” continues he, “ is made of burnt or calcined earth, very hard, and very black in the in- “ ſide ;



been taken to ransack them, the remains of human bodies have always been found within them. Some few of them might

“side ; it has four little ears or handles ; its sides are not half an inch thick ; in it were  
 “seven quarts of burnt bones and ashes ; we could easily distinguish the bones, but so altered by the fire as not to be known what part of the skeleton they composed. The  
 “urn will hold two gallons and more ; its height is thirteen inches and a half diameter,  
 “at the mouth eight, at the middle eleven, and at the bottom six and a half.” A figure of this Urn accompanies the Dissertation ; also a map of *Par Bay*, and of the country, with the *Barrows*. The author then proceeds to enquire into the acquaintance the Phœnicians and Grecians had with these islands ; which last people knew them under the name of *Cassiterides*, the Tin-islands. See *Phil. Trans.* Vol. xli. part ii. years 1740, 1741. p. 465.

In Scotland, mounds of this kind are called *Cairns*, a name by which they are known also in Ireland, the isle of Man, and sometimes too in Cornwall. Mr PENNANT, in both his *Tours in Scotland*, has taken notice of several cairns. “In this country,” (Banff) says he, “are several *Cairns* or *Barrows*, the places of interment of the ancient *Caledonians*, or of the *Danes*; for the method was common to both nations.” *A Tour in Scotland*, 1769, p. 138. 3d Edit. He mentions several of them that were opened ; in one of which was found a stone coffin, containing the complete skeleton of a human body ; in another a coffin with a skeleton ; also an urn ; in a third the same, and in a fourth a large ornamented urn, with other three lesser ones quite plain : the largest was thirteen inches high ; of which he has given an engraving ; the drawing having been communicated to him by the Reverend Mr LAURIE, Minister of Fordyce. *Ibid.* p. 139, 140. See also his *Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1772, p. 183. 186. 199.

Mr JEFFERSON has observed, that there are “many *Barrows* to be found all over the “country” in America. “These,” says he, “are of different sizes, some of them constructed of earth, and others of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead, “has been obvious to all ; but on what particular occasion constructed, was matter of “doubt.” *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 173. He had the curiosity to have one of them, which was in his neighbourhood, opened. It was about forty feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude. He found in it collections of human bones, in different strata ; and conjectured, that in this Barrow, there might have been a thousand skeletons. These *Barrows*, he remarks, are well known to the Indians, who regard them with great veneration. *Ibid.* p. 174. &c.

might be particularly consecrated to the ceremonies of religion, but it cannot be denied that the greatest number was destined to

WHILE I was engaged in the Translation of this Memoir, and before I had written any of these Notes, the Author left Edinburgh, about the beginning of May (1791.) He went on a tour to the south of England, where he saw, for the first time, Salisbury Plain, and Stonehenge, the stupendous and interesting work of the Druids. The following is an Extract of a letter I received from him on his return to London, dated the 16th of June. ‘ I cannot express to you my chagrin at not being acquainted with those monuments, and the author who has described them, before I composed my Memoir. ‘ Endeavour, I pray you, to find that pamphlet, which so happily illustrates and supports my discoveries in the plain of Troy. It is entitled, *A Description of Stonebenge, Abury, &c. in Wiltshire*. “ Very numerous,” says the author, “ are the Barrows in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge.—We may readily count fifty at a time in sight from the place, easily distinguishable.—They are artificial ornaments of this vast and open plain. “ In general they are upon elevated grounds.—Those people are but superficial inspectors of things who fancy great battles fought on the spots where the Barrows are, and that they are the tumultuary sepulchres of the slain. Far otherwise! They are the single monuments of great personages, buried during a considerable space of time, and that in peace.—In some are found only urns filled with bones, in others burnt bones without any sign of an urn. Most of them are surrounded with ditches.—The tomb of ACHILLES was a Barrow,” &c.—There are in the book many other particular passages favourable to the doctrine I maintain, such as the remote antiquity of those monuments, the detail which is given concerning their internal structure, and their form, &c. &c. I must beg of you to make a long note on this little book, and insert it when you come to the article of the *Tombs*; it will make the subject more interesting. If I had time, I would also send you some reflections of my own.’—But this note is, I am afraid, already too long. Besides, upon the subject of *Stonebenge* and *Salisbury Plain*, it may be sufficient just to name JONES, STUKELEY, and WEBB.

I CANNOT however conclude this annotation, without mentioning particularly, 1. Dr BOULASE’s *Antiquities of the County of Cornwall*, in which the subject of Barrows is treated in the most full, luminous and satisfactory manner, *Chap. vii. p. 211. &c. 2d Edit.* 2. Various interesting Memoirs on different Barrows contained in *Archæologia*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. See particularly under the word *Barrow*, in the indexes of Vol. II. and III.—to which works I refer the reader who wishes for the amplest information upon this curious topic. D.



to the purpose of containing the ashes of heroes and other great personages<sup>1</sup>.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance, that the Turks have preserved the same name for them which was used by the Egyptians. This tradition, which I have carefully considered, has not, like many others, been transmitted by the Greeks to their conquerors. The Turks who dwell in the most remote parts of Asia, and the mountains of Caucasus, who have had no communication with the Greeks, employ the same name to express that sort of monument, and could only have received it from the Arabians.

I HAVE not the smallest hesitation then in believing, that the hillock in the vicinity of Udjek<sup>2</sup>, and which is known by the  
name

<sup>1</sup> " MANY are of opinion that temples owe their first original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the ancients to the memory of their deceased friends, relations and benefactors. A confirmation of this is, that those words, which, in their proper acceptation, signify no more than a Tomb or Sepulchre, are, by ancient writers, applied to the temples of the gods. Thus LYCOPHRON, a noted affecter of obsolete words has used *Τύμβος*. See *Cassand.* ver. 613.—I will give you but one instance more, and that out of VIRGIL :

" ——— *Tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam*

" *Venimus*——— *Æneid.* II. 742.

" The temple and the hallow'd seat

" Of ancient CERES we approach'd——

POTTER'S *Antiq. of Gr. B.* II. ch. 2.

" The sepulchres of the Ancients being always looked upon with a kind of veneration, they became afterwards applied to the solemnization of their highest rites of religion and festivity. No sooner was ALEXANDER arrived upon the plains before Troy, but he performed sacrifices and other usual rites at the *Tumulus* of ACHILLES." BORLASE'S *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 222. See above, p. 41. and 44.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 12.

name of *Udjek-Tapé*, is a sepulchre; and every circumstance induces me to think that it is the tomb of *ÆSYETES*, a monument of the most remote antiquity, as it existed even before the time of the Trojan war.

THIS tomb, if we may believe HOMER, was of a great height, at least such is the import of the epithet he gives it<sup>1</sup>. *POLITES*, the son of *PRIAM*, trusting to his agility, had left the city, and taken his station on the top of this monument, to watch the motions of the Grecian army<sup>2</sup>. He could not indeed have chosen a more advantageous station, to have a full view of the space betwixt the two capes; it behoved him too to repose a great degree of confidence in his agility, for he was then at a great distance from the city.

WHAT STRABO has written respecting the situation of Old and New Ilium, contributes admirably to ascertain the position of the tomb of *ÆSYETES*. He is proving, by the assistance of *DEMETRIUS*, that Old Ilium was at a much greater distance from the sea than the New. 'Ο τε Πολίτης—

'Ος Τρώων σκοπὸς ἴζε ποδωκείησι πεποιθὼς  
Τύμβῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ 'Αισυήταο γερόντος',

μάταιος ἦν' κ. τ. λ. "And," says he, upon the supposition that Old and New Ilium were the same, "*POLITES* must have been a fool, "if, when acting as a Trojan scout, he placed himself upon the top of "old *ÆSYETES*'s monument, trusting to the swiftness of his feet; for "granting

<sup>1</sup> "The size of these sepulchral monuments is various, but generally large in proportion to the quality of the deceased, or the vanity, affection and power of the survivors." BORLASE, p. 216. 2d Edit.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iliad*. ii. 791.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 792.



“ granting that he was thus upon a place that was very high,  
 “ yet he would have taken a view from a much higher place,  
 “ in the *acropolis* of the city, and nearly at the same distance,  
 “ without having any occasion to trust to his agility ; for what  
 “ is now shewn as the tomb of *ÆSYETES* is at the distance of  
 “ five stadia, and near the road leading to Alexandria ‘.”

WE may add, that the same reason which would have rendered the conduct of *POLITES* foolish for going to the tomb of *ÆSYETES*, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, if the position of Old Troy had been the same with that of New Ilium, rendered it extremely laudable and proper, upon the supposition that the seat of the former was at the farther end of the plain ; for there it was impossible, even from the summit of the citadel to see the Rhoetean promontory, because the hills on the north must have intercepted the view<sup>2</sup>.

## C H A P.

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, p. 894. Edit. Amst. 1707.

<sup>2</sup> Yet VIRGIL mentions a turret of the palace of *PRIAM* :

———— *Unde omnis Troja videri*

*Et Danqum solitæ naves, et Achaica castra.*      *Æn.* ii. 461.

From whence we went all Ilium to survey,

The fields, the camp, the fleets, and rolling sea.      *PITT.*

But VIRGIL's authority in matters of this sort is of little weight.      *D.*

## C H A P. XIII.

*Situation of the Grecian Camp.*

**I**T was a custom among the ancient Greeks, and it is still preserved by the moderns, to draw ashore their vessels entirely out of the water, when they were to make any stay in the place where they had landed<sup>1</sup>. The fleet of AGAMEMNON being composed of a thousand ships<sup>2</sup>, and not having room for a proper arrangement in a single line betwixt the Sigéan and Rhoetéan<sup>3</sup> promontories, he was under the necessity of disposing it in rows, in the manner of a scaling ladder; so that such of the vessels as had arrived first were advanced farther towards the plain, and those which came after remained nearer the

<sup>1</sup> See POTTER's Archæol. Gr. Book iii. ch. 20.

<sup>2</sup> In reality, according to HOMER, there were 1186 ships. (See the Catal. Iliad. ii.) THUCYDIDES says, a little inaccurately, 1200. Lib. i. c. 10. It was usual however to speak of them as 1000, the round number. Thus, LUCIAN, in the Dialogue betwixt MENIPPUS and MERCURY: *Ἐῖτα αἱ χίλιναι νῆες κ. τ. λ.* *Were the thousand ships manned on this account from all Greece?*—And VIRGIL,

*Non anni domuere decem non mille carinæ.* Æn. ii. 198.

In this fleet there were, according to the best calculation, about 100,800 men. See WALLACE on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 38. and BARNES's note on the ANDROMACHE of EURIPIDES, ver. 106. D.

<sup>3</sup> THESE names are not used by HOMER; but he may be supposed to mark them sufficiently by the appellative word *ἄκραι*, *promontories*, otherwise, says EUSTATHIUS, called *ἀκρωτήρια*. D.



the beach. In the intermediate space betwixt the rows of ships, the tents were pitched, the statues of the gods were exhibited, and the councils held<sup>1</sup>. The tent of the commander in chief occupied the centre of the camp, ACHILLES had his station at the right wing, near the Sigéan promontory, and AJAX at the left near that of Rhoetéum. HOMER himself describes the arrangement of this camp in the fourteenth book of the Iliad<sup>2</sup>.

M.

<sup>1</sup> See Iliad. xi. 805.

THE description alluded to is contained in the following verses.

Πολλὸν γὰρ ῥ' ἀπ' αἰεὶ μάχης εἰρύατο νῆες  
Θῆν' ἐφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς· τὰς γὰρ πρῶτας πεδίοιδε  
ἔρυσαν, αὐτὰρ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσιν ἔδειμαν.  
Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔδ', εὐρύς περ ἰὼν, ἐδυνήσατο πάτας  
Αἰγιάλῳ νῆας χαδῆϊν· εἴοντο δὲ λαοί.  
Τῷ ῥ' αὖ προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν, καὶ πλῆσαν ἀπάσης  
Ἡϊόνοιο σόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνίεργαθον ἄκραι.      Ibid. xiv. 30.

Which may be thus translated literally :—*For the ships* of these heroes, (the particular ships, viz. of DIOMEDE, ULYSSES and AGAMEMNON, as Dr CLARKE has rightly observed) *were drawn up at the shore of the hoary sea, at a great distance from the place of engagement, for the army had dragged such of the ships as were foremost towards the plain; and near the sterns of these, they had constructed the wall; the beach, though extensive, not being capable to contain all the ships in one line; [χωρῆσαι κατ' ἓνα εἶχον, says EUSTATH.] but the troops were compressed together; and for that purpose they had arranged the ships in the form of a theatre, and had filled with them the whole opening of the shore, contained betwixt the promontories.* The difficulty of this passage consists entirely in the word *προκρόσσας*, which in the common Latin version is rendered *alias ante alias more scalarum*, *before one another, like a flight of steps, or like the steps of a scaling ladder.* POPE therefore wonders that Madame DACIER should conclude that there were only *two lines* of ships, as he thinks it more than probable that there were several intermediate lines, not only from this idea conveyed by the word *προκρόσσας*, but from what may be inferred from a passage in the beginning of the eleventh book, where it is said that the voice of Discord, standing on the ship of ULYSSES, in the *middle of the fleet*,

N

was

M. d'ANVILLE and Mr WOOD agree in placing the Rhœtëan promontory at cape *Berbier* <sup>2</sup>, which lies more than *six miles* from

was heard as far as the stations of ACHILLES and AJAX, *whose ships were drawn up in the two extremities*. So far POPE's idea seems to agree nearly with the meaning of the Poet ; but the explanation he adds of the extremities, where the stations of ACHILLES and AJAX were, is certainly altogether erroneous. " The ships of AJAX," says he, " were *nearest the wall*, (as is expressly said in the 682d verse of the thirteenth book in *the original*) and those of ACHILLES *nearest the sea*, as appears from many passages scattered through the Iliad." But no such thing is said, either *expressly* or *indirectly*, in the place referred to ; nor does the Poet ever, in any part of the Iliad, contradict the notion of the station of ACHILLES being at the Sigéan promontory, and that of AJAX at the Rhœtëan, the two wings of the fleet, and both equally near the sea. " HECTOR," says HOMER, in the passage particularly referred to by POPE, " was occupied in the place where he had first rushed into the gate of the rampart, after breaking the thick ranks of the Grecian warriors, where the ships of AJAX and PROTESILAUS were drawn up on the beach of the hoary main, and where the wall constructed for the defence of the army [*ὑπὸ τοῖς*] was lowest." HECTOR had pitched upon the gate at this wing as the proper place for an assault, as he no doubt perceived the circumstance here mentioned by HOMER ; who, in the reason he gives for it, pays a very great compliment to the prowess of AJAX ; " because," says he, " the bravest of the men and steeds were posted there." If indeed ACHILLES had stood forward in defence of the Greeks, there would have been no more occasion for a strong wall at the Sigéan extremity of the fleet than at the Rhœtëan. Indeed HOMER seems to insinuate elsewhere, that in such a case there would have been no occasion at all for a rampart and trench ; in this manner still reserving the highest panegyric of all for ACHILLES.

THE notion that POPE had conceived respecting the stations of ACHILLES and AJAX, viz. that the former was nearest the sea, and the latter nearest the rampart at the centre-part of it, has caused him to give the following wonderfully confused version of the above passage, which in the original is perfectly perspicuous and distinct :

But in the *centre* HECTOR fix'd remain'd

Where first the gates were forc'd, and bulwarks gain'd ;

There

<sup>2</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. xxviii. p. 318. Description of the Troade, p. 317.



from the cape of Jeni-chehr, or Sigéan promontory. Certainly, if the thousand ships, or rather boats, of AGAMEMNON had

There on the margin of the hoary deep,  
(Their naval station where the AJACES keep,  
And where low walls confine the beating tides,  
Whose humble barrier scarce the foes divides;  
Where late in fight, both foot and horse engag'd,  
And all the thunder of the battle rag'd)—

Book xiii. 851.

In a note on the 845<sup>th</sup> line, this eminent Translator has expressed himself in a manner equally embarrassed; and he evidently misunderstands the Poet, where he wishes to guard his readers against such danger. I refer to the note itself, where the attentive reader cannot but perceive a great degree of inconsistency and absurdity.

As to Madame DACIER's supposing there were only two lines of ships, she is supported in this idea by EUSTATHIUS, in whom that learned lady was much better read than POPE. At the same time, the explications which EUSTATHIUS gives of προκρόσσαι, seem rather to be in favour of a greater number of lines than two. He says, "that HOMER  
" uses this word to express that the ships were placed in the manner of a *scaling*  
" *ladder*, on account of the declivity of the ground; for the simple word κρόσσαι  
" signifies *τοιχομαχοὶ κλίμακες*, *ladders used in the attack of walls*." He adds, that "the  
" Ancients meant by προκρόσσαι, ships placed before each other in ranges, in such a way  
" that their station might have the appearance of a theatre." HERODOTUS, who borrows HOMER's phraseology in this and many other instances, seems to annex this idea to the word. See lib. vii. c. 188.

PERHAPS then HOMER's meaning will be properly and completely comprehended, if we suppose the line of ships farthest from the sea, to be a segment of a large circle, described betwixt the Sigéan and Rhoetéan promontories, with its convexity towards the plain, and, within that, two or three other smaller segments, at a considerable distance from each other, so that the whole might exhibit the appearance of a crescent encompassing a bay at the mouth of the Scamander; the post of ACHILLES being at the one horn, and that of AJAX at the other, (see Iliad. viii. 224. xi. 7.); that of AGAMEMNON in the centre, with one line within his post, and perhaps two without it; and the ships of ULYSSES close upon the sea, immediately in the line within AGAMEMNON's, and equidistant from the posts of ACHILLES and AJAX. Iliad. viii. 222. xi. 5. For it is not to be

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And all the thunder of the battle rag'd)—

Book xiii. 851.

In a note on the 845<sup>th</sup> line, this eminent Translator has expressed himself in a manner equally embarrassed; and he evidently misunderstands the Poet, where he wishes to guard his readers against such danger. I refer to the note itself, where the attentive reader cannot but perceive a great degree of inconsistency and absurdity.

As to Madame DACIER's supposing there were only two lines of ships, she is supported in this idea by EUSTATHIUS, in whom that learned lady was much better read than POPE. At the same time, the explications which EUSTATHIUS gives of *προκρόσσας*, seem rather to be in favour of a greater number of lines than two. He says, "that HOMER  
" uses this word to express that the ships were placed in the manner of a *scaling*  
" *ladder*, on account of the declivity of the ground; for the simple word *κρόσσαι*  
" signifies *τιχομάχοι κλίμακες*, *ladders used in the attack of walls*." He adds, that "the  
" Ancients meant by *προκρόσσαι*, ships placed before each other in ranges, in such a way  
" that their station might have the appearance of a theatre." HERODOTUS, who borrows HOMER's phraseology in this and many other instances, seems to annex this idea to the word. See lib. vii. c. 188.

PERHAPS then HOMER's meaning will be properly and completely comprehended, if we suppose the line of ships farthest from the sea, to be a segment of a large circle, described betwixt the Sigéan and Rhoetéan promontories, with its convexity towards the plain, and, within that, two or three other smaller segments, at a considerable distance from each other, so that the whole might exhibit the appearance of a crescent encompassing a bay at the mouth of the Scamander; the post of ACHILLES being at the one horn, and that of AJAX at the other, (see Iliad. viii. 224. xi. 7.); that of AGAMEMNON in the centre, with one line within his post, and perhaps two without it; and the ships of ULYSSES close upon the sea, immediately in the line within AGAMEMNON's, and equidistant from the posts of ACHILLES and AJAX. Iliad. viii. 222. xi. 5. For it is not to be

had found such a large space as this, to admit of an arrangement in the line of battle, there would have been no occasion for placing them in more rows than one.

I excuse M. d'ANVILLE for committing a mistake of this sort, as he was never out of Paris ; though that circumstance did not hinder him from being one of the best geographers in Europe ; but Mr Wood's conduct appears to me to be the more culpable and unjustifiable, that Dr Pococke had marked out for him the way to the tomb of AJAX ; and indeed I owe the discovery of it myself to that excellent traveller<sup>1</sup>.

“ WHEN

doubted, that the prominence of soil now observable at the mouth of the river, is an accumulation of sand gradually formed by the repeated torrents of the Simois, upon the spot which might have been a bay in the time of HOMER, (see Iliad. vii. 462.) ; though the current of the *rapid* Hellespont (see Iliad. xii. 30.) must render it impossible for any accretion ever to be formed there, of the magnitude which Mr Wood has fancied. The ships, especially those of the outermost and longest line, we may suppose were arranged with their sterns directed towards the plain, and elevated somewhat higher than their prows. (See Iliad. xii. 403. xiii. 333. xiv. 51. xv. 385. 722.) All about the ships the tents were pitched, but so as to allow abundance of room for going from one place to another. “ There are many paths,” says AGAMEMNON, “ through the camp.” Iliad. x. 66. At some distance from the ships towards the plain, the Greeks fortified their camp with that famous rampart and trench so often mentioned in the Iliad, and particularly described near the end of the seventh book, (see also PORTER's Archæologia, Vol. ii. p. 153.) which they found so necessary, after ACHILLES, who was formerly considered as the bulwark of the host, (Iliad. i. 284.) had withdrawn himself from the war. D.

<sup>1</sup> WHOEVER reads the Travels of Pococke, will be apt to conclude, that the author of this Memoir has over-rated his merit. He is so very deficient in skill in the art of composition, or arrangement in his narration, that the ideas he conveys are for the most part extremely confused. His veracity, however, so far as he is intelligible, may be relied on ; and it is probable that his descriptions, indistinct as they are, may be of great use to any traveller who visits the countries where he was ; as he does not describe  
from



“ WHEN I had passed these hills,” says he, “ I saw from the  
 “ south a high pointed hill over the sea, which looked as if it  
 “ had been fortified, and I judged that it was near west of  
 “ Telmesh. The *Aiantéum*, where the sepulchre and statue of  
 “ AJAX were, is mentioned as near Rhœtéum on the shore;  
 “ and I observed at the descent to the plain of Troy, a little  
 “ hillock, on which a barrow was raised, and there were some  
 “ broken pieces of marble about it; but whether this was the  
 “ tomb of AJAX, would be difficult to determine <sup>1</sup>. ”

Too diffident POCOCKE ! What reason could you have for  
 expressing yourself with so much reserve upon the subject of  
 the Tombs in the Troad ? Did you never hear that the modern  
 nations have erected such monuments to the memory of their  
 warriors ? Did you not know that the shape and construction  
 of these tombs were adopted by the most ancient people of the  
 world ? Why did you permit your excessive caution to expose  
 others to the censure of temerity, when they were to hold that  
 for certain, which you only had considered as probable <sup>2</sup> ?

As

from hearsay, but from actual inspection, without any sort of attempt at ornament of  
 style. It is matter of regret that a man, concerning whom the late Mr TOUR has used  
 the expression—“ *Vir doctissimus qui*

“ ——— *mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes,* ”

(Emendatt. in SUIDAM, par. iii.) should not have been able to tell distinctly what he  
 saw. Mr GIBSON indeed says, “ That POCOCKE’s plan of the seven hills on which Con-  
 “ stantinople is built, is clear and accurate ; ” but adds, “ That this traveller is seldom  
 “ so satisfactory.” Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. ii. p. 9.  
 not. 22. D.

<sup>1</sup> A Description of the East, Vol. ii. part ii. p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> But the subject of Barrows, or sepulchral mounds, was not so completely understood  
 when POCOCKE travelled, as it is now in consequence of what Dr BORLASE in particular  
 has written, and the authors of the memoirs in the *Archæologia*, referred to above, p. 89.

As Mr WOOD understood the distance betwixt cape Jenichehr and cape Berbier, (which last he took to be the Rhoetean promontory) to be no less than twelve miles, it is no wonder that he looked upon the assertion of the Poet as incredible, where AGAMEMNON is represented as making his voice be heard from ULYSSES's ship, which was about the centre of the two extremities<sup>1</sup>. But both Mr WOOD and M. d'ANVILLE seem to have been misled by STRABO, who asserts, that the distance between the Rhoetean and the Sigéan promontories was sixty stadia<sup>2</sup>. I was at the pains to ascertain this distance geometrically, and found it to be three thousand fathoms, a measure which agrees exactly with PLINY's account, who says it is thirty stadia<sup>3</sup>.

ON

<sup>1</sup> See the Description of the Troade, p. 336. ; also Iliad. viii. 220.

<sup>2</sup> STRABO, p. 890. Edit. Amst. 1707.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 33. LEUVENKLAU, or LEUNCLAVIUS, the Editor of XENOPHON's Works, declares that he himself had sailed in the Hellespont; and he gives us the following curious particulars upon this subject in a note on the first book of XENOPHON's *Hellenics*. " In this place is situate Rhoetéum, a promontory of the Troad, celebrated for the monument of AJAX; and Sigéum, famous for that of ACHILLES, which last our sailors called *Cape Jenitzari*, or the promontory of *Jenizari*.—That the reader may know the distances betwixt the places, according to their modern names, it may be proper to add, that from the castle of the *Dardanelles* on the Asiatic side, formerly called Abydos, on the left as you sail out of the Hellespont, *Chifme* is distant one Greek mile, a place which seems to be so called from the river Simois, whose mouth is here. From *Chifme* to *Peskia*, the distance is eight Greek miles. *Peskia* is distant from *Jenitzari*, the same with *Sigéum*, four miles. Whence it may be inferred that *Peskia* is the same with *Rhoetéum*." This account answers as to the distance betwixt the two promontories; but LEUNCLAVIUS's conjecture about the mouth of the Simois being near *Chifme*, seems erroneous. D.



ON taking a view of the marshes which now occupy a part of the space between the two capes, and which was also the case in the time of STRABO ; and on reflecting on the inundations of the Simois, we shall think it strange, that the army of the Greeks should have pitched their camp upon such disadvantageous ground, and especially that they were able to maintain their station on that ground for the space of ten years. But though the war continued so many years, it does not appear from HOMER that the Greeks were encamped betwixt the Sigéan and Rhoetéan promontories all that time. It is generally understood that they did not vigorously attack the city of Troy till the spring and summer of the last year, but had till then carried on a sort of predatory war against different parts of the Trojan territories, with a view to weaken the enemy, by diminishing or intercepting their resources, and thus to render the city less capable of defence, which had appeared at first to be impregnable. In the course of this war, the Greeks no doubt would shift their station from one part of the coast to another, as they found it most convenient for their operations or their safety ; and there is even reason to believe, from some passages in the Iliad, that in carrying on their predatory expeditions, the forces were separated into various detachments under their respective leaders, who returned to some place of rendezvous with the booty which they had collected'.

AT

† It appears from various passages in the Iliad, that ACHILLES had greatly distinguished himself in expeditions of this sort. See his account of the expedition to Thebé, the sacred city of EETION, Iliad. i. 365. and also where he scruples not to mention his own merit to AGAMEMNON, Ibid. 165. In his speech to the deputies sent to endeavour to

At last, in the tenth year, they may be supposed to have encamped in full force at the mouth of the Scamander in the summer season<sup>1</sup>, (when the Simois, except in the case of occasional falls of rain, was dried up) with a resolution to make a vigorous effort against the foe. In this situation, the army was visited with the plague, probably very soon after their encampment; and that dreadful malady which HOMER, in the true spirit of poetry, ascribed to the wrath of APOLLO and the imprecations of CHRYSSES the priest, we may conclude to have been in reality the effect of the mephitical exhalations arising from the marshes where the camp was pitched.

I

to prevail with him to return to the war, he boasts that "he had sacked twelve cities in islands, and eleven in the Trojan territory on the Continent." Ibid. ix. 328. See also where he meets with LYCAON in the Scamander, and particularly the speech he makes in answer to the supplication of that unfortunate Prince. Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πάτροκλον κ. τ. λ. Ibid. xxi. 34. 54. 100. D.

<sup>1</sup> THE Scamander, even in the summer, continued to convey its pure and perennial, though less copious stream, through the midst of the camp, in the same channel, through which the Simois, after having joined it, discharged its winter torrents. (See above, p. 66.) It may be concluded, that the Scamander supplied the camp with fresh water, at the same time that its current, being diffused over the wide channel in which the Simois also occasionally flowed, was so shallow as to prove no inconvenience to the combatants at the time of the engagements near the ships. Higher up, above the confluence of the two rivers, the stream of the Scamander, being more confined, was no doubt deeper, and suitable to the scene of ACHILLES's exploits, described near the beginning of the 21st book of the Iliad.

As to the time of the year when Troy was taken, see DIONYS. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. i. c. 63. There is however a dispute among the editors, whether the true reading be *ἔαρος* or *ἱερός*, *spring* or *summer*. See the excellent Translation of DIONYS. by SPELMAN; also POPE's note upon the 1037th line of the xiiiith book of his version of the Iliad. D.



I HAVE already remarked in my journal, that reeds and tamarisks still abound in these marshes<sup>1</sup>. This observation suggests to our remembrance the incident of DIOMEDE's having slain DOLON the Trojan spy, in the neighbourhood of the camp, his having suspended his arms on a tamarisk, and his taking care to mark the spot by a heap of reeds, and tamarisk-boughs, to prevent him from mistaking it on his return during the night<sup>2</sup>.

WITH respect to the large circular basin to be seen near the Rhoetean promontory, and which, because in reality it is obstructed by a sand-bank, the Turks call *Karanlik-Limani*, the *shut haven*, I should be tempted to believe that this was the haven of the Greeks<sup>3</sup>.

O

CHAP.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. x. 314. 470.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ο Αχαιῶν λιμὴν. STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 890. 923. Edit. Amst. 1707.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Tomb of Ajax.*

**H**OMER does not point out precisely the situation of the tomb of AJAX, but at least he informs us that his remains were deposited in the plain of Troy with those of the other Grecian warriors. “Would to heaven,” says ULYSSES, when visiting the infernal regions, “that I had not been victorious over AJAX, in such a combat for the arms of ACHILLES ; for it was on their account that the earth covered the body of such a respected hero !” In the account which NESTOR gives to TELEMACHUS, he says, “There lies the warlike AJAX, and ACHILLES, and the godlike PATROCLUS, and my valiant and amiable son ANTILOCHUS .”

AJAX, according to DICTYS the Cretan, provoked because the *Palladium* had been adjudged to ULYSSES, threatened both his judges and his rival with his vengeance. As they dreaded his courage, they were on their guard during the ensuing night ; and when they found next day that the warrior had lost his life, each of them shewed great eagerness to know the cause of his death. Meanwhile, NEOPTOLEMUS ordered wood to be brought for burning his body, he collected his ashes in a golden urn,

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xi. 547.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. 109.



urn, and deposited them in a sepulchre which he erected to his memory near the Rhoëtéan promontory<sup>1</sup>.

STRABO, as has been already observed, expresses himself clearly enough as to the situation of this tomb, in his general account of the plain of Troy<sup>2</sup>.

PAUSANIAS was informed by a certain Myſian, that the monument of AJAX on the ſide next the ſhore, was rendered of eaſy acceſs by means of an inundation of the ſea, which had defaced it; and that an idea of the enormous ſtature of that hero might be formed by the bones found there<sup>3</sup>.

THE aperture here alluded to by PAUSANIAS on the testimony of the Myſian, is ſtill to be obſerved at the Rhoëtéan promontory; and the Turks, as I have already mentioned, call it *In Tapé Gheulu, the cavern of the marſh*<sup>4</sup>. As the monument is demolished from top to bottom, its whole interior conſtruction may be diſcerned; and it now conſiſts of a vault in the

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form

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Trojano, Lib. v. cap. xv. See above, p. 40. note.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 64.; alſo PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. v. c. 33.

<sup>3</sup> According to PAUSANIAS, this Myſian had told him that he might form an idea of the bulk of AJAX, from the magnitude of his *patella* or knee-pan, which reſembled the *discus* thrown by young men in the exerciſe of the *Pentathlon*. GræciæDescrip. lib. i. p. 66. Edit. Hanov. 1613. It ſeems to be uncertain whether AJAX was burned, or laid in the ground entire. If the author of the performance which goes under the name of DICTYS the Cretan, juſt quoted in the text, may be believed, the former was the caſe; and QUINTUS Calaber, or COINTUS Smyrnæus, even gives a particular deſcription of the conſtruction of the funeral pile, and the burning of AJAX's body. Lib. v. 616. But SOPHOCLES favours the other opinion. See AJAX ΜΑΕΤΤΟΦ. Ver. 1165. Edit. BRUNCK. It is certain that burning and interring were both practiſed in thoſe days. See POTTER's Archæol. Book iv. ch. 6. D.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 28.

form of a cross, situate about the centre of its height, and a cone of masonry, around which circular walls are erected at a small distance from each other, and described from different centres<sup>1</sup>.

HISTORY is silent respecting the time when the tomb of AJAX was rifled. Are we to believe, with the Myfian, that the gods, enraged against this blasphemer<sup>2</sup>, directed the waves of the Hellespont to attack his sepulchre? No. I am rather disposed to think that POMPEY the Great<sup>3</sup>, when he carried off the statue of AJAX, took possession of his ashes at the same time, and removed them to Egypt<sup>4</sup>.

C H A P.

<sup>1</sup> See GOVERNOR POWNALL's Description of the sepulchral monument at New Grange in Ireland. *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 236. D.

<sup>2</sup> See the proofs of the impiety of AJAX adduced by BAYLE, art. AJAX, remark [E]. D.

<sup>3</sup> I suspect that instead of POMPEY, we should read MARK ANTHONY, both here and above in p. 48. See STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 890. Edit. Amst. 1707. al. p. 595. D.

<sup>4</sup> Whoever wishes to see many curious particulars concerning the character of AJAX collected together, may consult the word in BAYLE's Dictionary. D.



## CHAP. XV.

*The Valley of Thymbra.*

THE appellation of *Thymbrek*, given by the Turks, with so little variation from the ancient name, to the beautiful valley which opens towards the north into the plain of Troy; and its situation in the vicinity of the tomb of ILUS and the camp of the Greeks, immediately recalled to my mind the information which the traitor DOLON, in order to save his life, gave to ULYSSES and DIOMEDE respecting the different posts occupied by the Trojans and their auxiliaries. “HECTOR,” said he, “is employed in close deliberation among his counsellors near *the monument of the divine ILUS*, apart from all noise’.—The Carians and Pæonians, armed with bows, the Leleges and the Cauconians, together with the noble Pelasgi, are stationed a little away from the sea; the Lycians and proud Mysians, the Phrygians famed for managing steeds, and the warlike Mæonians, are posted at *Thymbra*².”

WHEN, after I had made myself acquainted with this valley, and the river which runs through it, I observed, in the midst of a large marsh, the place where this river falls into the Simois, or, as this part of it was formerly called, the Scamander¹, it seemed to me impossible to explain how the Ancients, who

² Iliad. x. 414.

¹ See the reason assigned above, p. 66.

³ Ibid. 428.

who commonly placed their temples in the most favourable situations, either on high promontories, or in the middle of delightful valleys, had made so bad a choice of a site for the temple of APOLLO. Besides, this spot, which is assigned by STRABO, or rather by his translators, does not correspond to the distance of fifty stadia, which that geographer fixes as the space betwixt New Ilium and the temple of APOLLO<sup>1</sup>. I therefore suspected that STRABO had fallen into some mistake, or that his translators had misunderstood his meaning; and I was immediately convinced of it upon my discovering the ruins of a temple near the village of Halil-Eli in the valley of Thymbrek; and more especially when I found amidst these ruins the inscription of a consecrated gift offered to APOLLO by the inhabitants of Ilium. Indeed, why should the surname of *Thymbræan* have been given to the god adored in that temple, if it had not been situate in the valley of *Thymbra*?

WE know that ACHILLES, attended only by a few trusty friends, was slain in that temple, when he was going to espouse POLYXENA, and when he depended upon the faith of treaties<sup>2</sup>.

How.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> THE account of ACHILLES's death here adopted, is that given by the author who assumes the name of DARES the Phrygian: *De Excidio Trojæ*, c. xxiv. See likewise DICTYS of Crete, lib. iv. c. x. who says it happened in the time of a truce. It is also mentioned by SERVIVS, on the 57<sup>th</sup> line of the vith book of the *Æneid*, and by other authors. See Dict. de BAYLE, Vol. i. p. 58. 3<sup>me</sup> Edit. In the dying speech which HOMER puts into the mouth of HECTOR, that hero prophesies that ACHILLES will fall by the hand of PARIS, assisted by APOLLO, ἐν Σκαίῳσι πύλῃσιν, *in the Scæan gate*. *Iliad*. xxii. 360. But whoever wishes to know what ancient authors have said upon this subject, may see the references enumerated by the learned DRELCINCOURT in his *HOMERICUS ACHILLES*, p. 50, 51.; a performance of wonderful erudition, to which BAYLE has owed his



How would PARIS and the Trojans have had the boldness to lay such a snare for the valiant ACHILLES, and have actually cut him off, if they had not been at a considerable distance from the camp of the Greeks?

STRABO perhaps will be found to support this idea, if we are allowed to make a small change of the common punctuation in the passage where he speaks of this temple. “The Thymbrius,” says he, “discharges itself into the Scamander”—If we suppose a stop here, we learn from the phrase which immediately follows, “That the temple of APOLLO is to be found near the Thymbrius, at the distance of fifty stadia from New Ilium.” This appears to be the true meaning of the Geographer, and not that the Thymbrius flows into the Scamander “near the temple of Thymbræan APOLLO’.”

## CHAP.

his obligations at the conclusion of his account of ACHILLES; and has in the first edition of his Dictionary, deviated from the plan of his work, by prefacing that article with a particular eulogium on DRELINCOURT, who was his intimate friend.

It deserves to be remarked, that though the plan of the Iliad did not admit of HOMER’s introducing the death of ACHILLES into that poem, he contrives to let us know that it happened soon after that of HECTOR, by his representing the goddess THETIS employed in bewailing the loss of her son, which she foresaw was soon to happen. Ibid. xxiv. 85. D.

<sup>1</sup> THE passage here referred to is as follows: Πλησίον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ πηδῖον ἢ Θύμβρα, καὶ ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ ζῶν ποταμὸς Θύμβραι, ἑμβάλλον εἰς τὸν Σκάμανδρον, κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραῖον Ἀπολλωνίος ἱερὸν. STRABO, p. 893. It is proposed, instead of the comma after Σκάμανδρον, to put a full stop, and to construe what follows thus—Τὸ ἱερὸν Θύμβραιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστι κατὰ. *The temple of Thymbræan APOLLO is near the banks of the river.* Whatever may be thought of this emendation, it is certain that the punctuation in all the editions of STRABO is exceedingly faulty; and a skilful Editor might throw great light on that most useful author by an improvement in this particular. D.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The Monument of Ilius.*

ON approaching the ruins of the bridge near the feat of New Ilium, I perceived, as I have already said<sup>1</sup>, on the banks of the river, an eminence, which, though much worn down<sup>2</sup>, exhibited a shape and dimensions somewhat similar to those of the monument near Udjek. As it was situate in the plain at no great distance from the sea, and consequently from the camp of the Greeks, on seeing it, I recollected the anxiety of NESTOR, who awakes DIOMEDE, by telling him, that the enemy are very near the ships, ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο, *close upon the mound of the plain*<sup>3</sup>.

I HAD no doubt then that this eminence was the θρωσμός here meant. But I did not confine my conjectures to this; I suffered them to proceed a little farther, and fancied that, like *Baticia*, and the monument of the nimble MYRINNA<sup>4</sup>,  
the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> " THAT some of them are now become of a more depressed and hemispherical figure, is owing to the rage of winds and rain, the first original design being to heap up the earth or stones as high as the base would bear. This was a shape (I mean the conoeid) of the greatest simplicity, and therefore most ancient; less subject than any other form to the injuries of time, nor likely to be violated by the fury of enemies, and therefore the most lasting." BORLASE's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 216. 2d Edit.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. x. 160. See also xi. 56. and xx. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ii. 814.



the *Σπυριμὸς* and the monument of ILUS were the same. In fact, DIOMEDE, at the instigation of NESTOR, whose great experience and wisdom caused him to be considered as a sort of prophet, sets out, accompanied by ULYSSES, with a view to ascertain the posture of the enemy. In their way, they meet with DOLON, the Trojan spy<sup>1</sup>, who, in order to shun death, with which they threaten him, informs them, "That the Trojans are really encamped in the neighbourhood," (as NESTOR had already told them) "and that HECTOR is holding a council with the Trojan chiefs *at the monument of ILUS*."<sup>2</sup>

IF the concurrence of these testimonies does not amount to a demonstration that the *Τβροσμος* and the tomb of ILUS are the same, it is clear at least that these two monuments could not be at any great distance from each other.—Let us now follow the route of PRIAM, when he goes to beg the body of his son from ACHILLES.

MERCURY meets with the old King, in the evening twilight, just as he arrived at the tomb of ILUS<sup>3</sup>, and blames him for exposing himself to danger, by thus travelling with so much treasure in the plain of Troy during the night<sup>4</sup>. The tomb of ILUS then was at a considerable distance from the city of Troy, since PRIAM, who had set out early in the afternoon, as may be collected from the preceding part of the xxiv<sup>th</sup> book, did not arrive there till it was almost dark; and the distance from the same monument to the entrenchments of the Greeks must have been far less; for MERCURY says to PRIAM that he had just come from thence, and that he would instantly conduct the chariot thither<sup>5</sup>.

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WE

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. x. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxiv. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. xxiv. 365.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 461. 443.

WE may add, that the tomb of ILUS could not be far from the banks of the river, as PRIAM had stopped his mules and horses to drink there'.

## CHAP.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxiv. 350. The Poet says,

Στῆσαν ἄρ' ἡμίονοι τε καὶ ἵπποι, ὅφρα πόσιον  
Ἐν ποταμῷ. —————

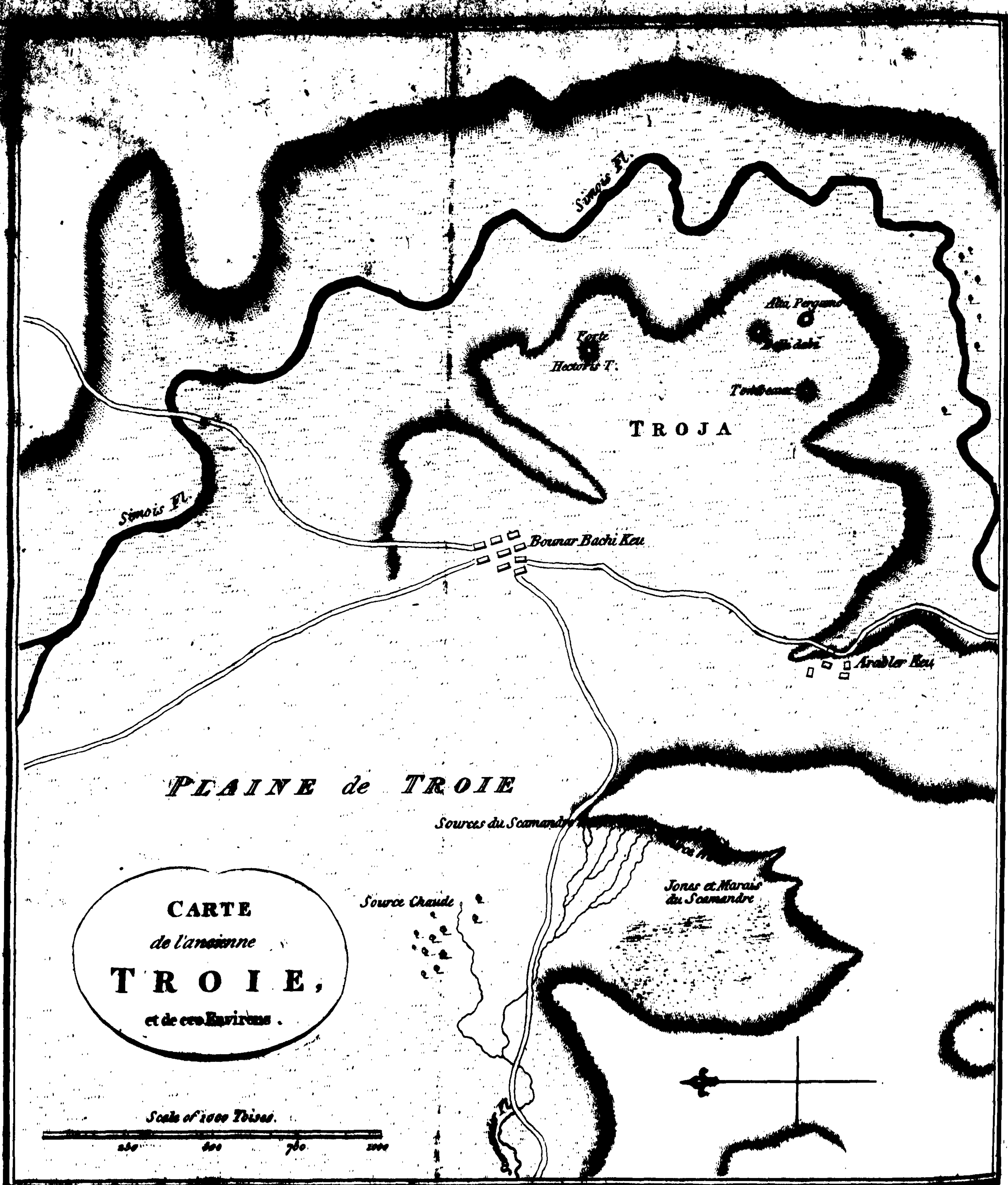
*They stopped the mules and horses to drink in the river.* Which POPE translates,

What time the herald and the hoary king,  
(Their chariots stopping at the silver spring  
That circling ILUS' ancient marble flows)  
Allow'd their mules and steeds a short repose.

Instead of the river, he feigns a spring in the neighbourhood of the monument, because, according to the notion he had of it, the river could not be near it. But ἐν ποταμῷ can never signify *at a spring*.

In the eleventh book of the Iliad, AGAMEMNON is described as “pursuing the Trojans, “and eagerly animating the Greeks; while the Trojans in their flight were rushing along, “past the monument of ILUS, through the middle of the plain, near the grove of wild figs.” Iliad. xi. 165. This is still consistent with the ingenious author's supposition. For if it should be objected, that the former explication of the middle of the plain, taken from STRABO, is not satisfactory, [see above, p. 70.] the answer is, that the monument in question may be said to be in the middle, by being so with respect to the breadth, though not with respect to the length of the plain. In the same book it is said, that “PARIS, leaning on the pillar at the monument of ILUS, aimed an arrow at DIOMEDES.” Ibid. 369. But though from the context it is most probable that the fight was maintained not far from the walls; yet we may suppose that after AGAMEMNON was wounded, and had retired, the Trojans, on taking advantage of this, had repelled the Greeks a great way down the plain. D.





CARTE  
de l'ancienne  
**TROIE,**  
et de ses Environs.

Scale of 1000 Toises.





## C H A P. XVII.

*The site of Ancient Troy.*

**T**HE tombs found on the eminence of Bounarbachî may not perhaps be thought sufficient to prove the situation of the ancient city of Troy; but there are many circumstances in the poems of HOMER which would be inexplicable and impossible, if we suppose it to have been in any other place.

THE village of Bounarbachî is situate on the side of an eminence, which is exposed to every wind.—HOMER, in speaking of the city of Troy, gives it the epithet of *ἠνεμόεσσα*, *windy*<sup>1</sup>.

THE same village is placed at the termination of a spacious plain, the soil of which, being rich and of a blackish colour, indicates its great fertility, and whose produce at this day supports the numerous adjacent villages.—PARIS answers the invectives of HECTOR, by proposing to try his skill in single combat with MENELAUS, and says to him, “Whoever shall prove victorious,—you the rest of the Trojans, after making a league of peace, shall inhabit the *fertile* plain of Troy<sup>2</sup>, and the Greeks shall return to Argos, which abounds in steeds.”

P 2

THE

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. iii. 305. viii. 499. xii. 115. xiii. 724. xviii. 174. xxiii. 64. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Ναίεισι Τροίην λεῖβώλακα*.—Iliad. iii. 75. See also Ibid. 257. vi. 315. xvi. 461. xxiv. 86. *Ἐλεῖβωλος* is applied in the same manner, ix. 329. xviii. 67. xxiii. 215.



THE village of Bounarbachî is at the distance of four leagues from the sea.—POLYDAMAS the Trojan, after having fought long near the ships of the Greeks, advises his companions not to wait for the morning to return to Troy; “for,” says he, “we are a great way from the walls.”

CLOSE at the village of Bounarbachî is to be seen a marsh covered with a great quantity of tall reeds.—ULYSSES relates to his faithful EUMÆUS how he had passed the night in ambush, “near the city of Troy, and in the midst of reeds.”

THE city of Troy was impregnable on all sides, except on the side towards *the hill of wild fig-trees*, which extended betwixt the Scæan gate and the sources of the Scamander'.—The precipices which skirt the eminence of Bounarbachî, and the Simois which runs at the foot of these precipices would, at this day, present insuperable difficulties in the way of any army wishing to get possession of the place. It would be impracticable to assail it from any other quarter than from the side towards the sources of the Scamander. There are no wild fig-trees now growing in that particular place; but they are still very common in the plain of Troy; and I have already observed the singular similarity betwixt the name of the village of *Erin* and the appellation of 'Ερινεὸς<sup>4</sup>, given to the hill in the neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> ——— ἐκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεος εἰμίν. Iliad. xviii. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμῖς περὶ ἄστυ κατὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά,  
'Αιδόνακας κ' Ἴλος ὑπὸ τείχεσι πιπτηῶτες  
Κεῖμιθα·——— Odyss. xiv. 473.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. vi. 433. xxii. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Ὅτι Ἐρινεὸς τράχυν τις τόπος, καὶ ἰερνιάδης, τῇ μὲν ἀρχαίῳ κτίσματι ὑποπίπτουσι. *And the Erineos is a place that is rough and abounding in wild fig-trees: it is situate under the ancient structure.* STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 893. “Ac si dicas caprificetum.” CLARKE ad Iliad. vi. 433.

hood of Troy. Near that hill were situate the gardens of PRIAM, where LYCAON, when cutting wood, was surpris'd by ACHILLES<sup>1</sup>; and on that spot are still situate at this day the gardens of the Aga of Bounarbachî, who, after forty centuries, succeeds to the King of the Trojans in his capital, in a part of his possessions, and in his absolute sway over the inhabitants of the plain of Troy, and over the inferior Agas who command them.

THE epithets of *ἄκρος*, *high*, *ἀκροτάτος*, *very high*, which HOMER every where gives to the citadel of Troy, were sufficient authority for believing that it was situate on an eminence<sup>2</sup>. But I was always surpris'd that the great Poet should make no mention of those precipices of Bounarbachî which overlook the Simois, especially as their awful and picturesque appearance was a subject so worthy of his pencil. By tracing him in every line and every word of his two poems, I was at last enabled to discover that these high rocks which formed the surest defence of Ancient Troy had not been unobserved by him. DEMODOCUS, in extolling the exploits and the stratagems of ULYSSES, relates the manner in which the wooden horse was conducted into the citadel. "The Trojans themselves," says he, "dragged it into the *acropolis*, and thus there it stood; while they, seated around it, spoke with uncertainty about what ought to be done. They thought of three different methods, either with the sharp steel to open a passage into its side, or to *drag it up to the summit of the rock, and toss it down headlong*,  
" or

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxi. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad. v. 460. vi. 88. 257. 317. 512. xx. 52. xxii. 172. See also Ibid. iv. 508. vii. 21. xxiv. 700. Odyss. viii. 494. 504.



“ or suffer the huge figure to be dedicated as an expiatory gift  
“ to the gods <sup>1</sup>. ”

THE hill called *Baticia*, or the tomb of the nimble MYRINNA, was in the front of the city <sup>2</sup>. It was near this place where the Trojans, with their auxiliaries, arranged themselves in the order of battle, while the Grecian army was drawn up in the neighbourhood of the ships <sup>3</sup>.—That monument no longer exists ; but on examining the map, it appears, that by arranging the Trojan army betwixt the banks of the two rivers, so that one of the wings should be supported by the border of the Simois towards Atchi-Keu near Callicoloné, and the other extend towards the borders of the Scamander, a little below Bounarbachî, where the tomb of MYRINNA must have been situate, it would have the Grecian army exactly in front betwixt the Sigéan and Rhœtéan promontories.

THE tutelary deities of these two armies could not have stimulated the courage of the combatants more successfully than by taking a close survey of their lines. It is thus that all Generals act when they are to conduct their troops against the enemy. Therefore we find MARS calling aloud to the Trojans from the top of the citadel, and then flying like a tempest on the borders of the Simois near Callicoloné ; while PALLAS, on her part, animating the Grecian army, appears sometimes beside the trench without the Grecian wall, and sometimes on the resounding sea-shore <sup>4</sup>.

THE

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. viii. 504. See VIRG. *Æneid.* ii. 31. where the Poet varies a little from HOMER, and somewhat inconsistently.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad.* ii. 811.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 464.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xx. 48.

THE public road passed near the sources of the Scamander; for HECTOR, when pursued by ACHILLES, came to these sources just after he had crossed it'.—Still at this day, in coming from the shore of the Hellespont to the village of Bounarbachì, you pass by the sources of the Scamander.

If all these circumstances united are not sufficient to ascertain the situation of Ancient Troy, I hope that the following strict mathematical demonstration will prove it beyond all doubt.

The Scæan or western gate<sup>2</sup> was that which faced the plain. From this gate the Trojans issued forth, in order to engage on that plain<sup>3</sup>; near this gate HECTOR stood, when PRIAM and HECUBA wanted to dissuade him from entering the lists with ACHILLES<sup>4</sup>; and, lastly, it was from the top of this gate that these unfortunate parents beheld their son perish near the sources of the Scamander<sup>5</sup>.—The sources of the Scamander then lay in front and in view of the Scæan gate. This gate was therefore on the west of the city. When it is once granted that I

am.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxii. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰς Σκαίᾱς πύλας, Δαρδανίας ἰνίοτι "Ομηροῦ λίγῃ, τὸ μὲν, ἀπὸ Δαρδάνου, τὸ δὲ, ἢ ἀπὸ Σκαίῳ ἔτω καλυμμένῳ τιχνίτω, ἢ ὅτι δυτικαί. σκαίᾱ γὰρ, ἥτοι ἀριστήρᾱ, τὰ δυτικά. ἢ διότι σκαίᾱι, ἥτοι ἱππερίσσοι, τοῖς Τρῶσιν ἰγίνοντο, διζαμένοις κατ' αὐτὰς τὸν δόρυον ἵππον. HOMER uses the appellation of Scæan or Dardanian gates indiscriminately, the latter name being derived from DARDANUS, the former either from an artist called Scævus, or because they were situate to the west; for what are on the left or on the west are called Scæan; or because they were σκαίᾱι, unlucky, or ἱππερίσσοι, ill omened, to the Trojans, by having given admittance to the wooden horse. EUSTATH. in HOM. Iliad. Vol. i. p. 394. Edit. Rom. 1550.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. vi. 393. xvi. 711. xxii. 360. &c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. xxii. 35.]

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 405.



am exact with respect to the position of the sources of the Scamander, it must be allowed that I am right as to the situation of the city of Troy. That this is to the east of the sources, is strictly and unquestionably demonstrated.

C H A P.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Tomb of Hector.*

**I**T is an opinion generally received among the learned, that the ancients seldom constructed their burying-places within their cities. The ruins of such of them as have been discovered, and the custom which prevails at this day among the nations of the east, seem to confirm this opinion<sup>1</sup>. It is well known, however, that certain people, such, for instance, as the Lacedæmonians, did not imitate others in this particular, but crowded together, with as much barbarity as ourselves, the dead and the living within the narrow limits of their city.

It may be asked, whether such a savage custom prevailed among the Trojans? and are not those monuments a proof of it, which are to be seen on the height of Bounarbachî, and which, according to their present situation, must have been inclosed within the precincts of the city, or at least within the citadel? No. The tombs of ÆSYETES, of ILUS, and of the nimble MYRINNA, were without the walls, and even at a great distance from the city; why then should those others be found within it? It is by no means difficult to assign the cause of this.

Q

WHEN:

<sup>1</sup> See POTTER'S Archæol. Book iv. chap. vii.; also POPE'S note on line 399. of Book vii. of his Translation of the Iliad.



WHEN any one of the Grecian Chieftains happened to be slain in battle, they conveyed him to the ships, and erected his monument under the immediate protection of the camp. On the other hand, when the Trojans wanted to perform the funeral obsequies of their warriors, they had no other defence against the incursions of the Greeks than the walls of their city. It would not then be surprising, if, during the time of the war, they should have been obliged to deviate from their ancient practice, and to bury their dead within the town.

I HAVE already said, that of the four monuments upon the eminence of Bounarbachî, three are precisely similar to those which are to be seen on the shore of the Hellespont, and the fourth consists of an enormous mass of stones, which seem to be the remains of a demolished structure. After satisfying myself beyond all doubt respecting the situation of Troy, my first idea was, that they contained the ashes of the Trojan warriors. This conjecture appeared the more rational, that several ancient authors inform us that long after the Trojan war, the monuments of the Trojans, as well as of the Greeks, were shewn to travellers. "The body of PARIS," says DARES the Phrygian, "was carried within the city, and PRIAM constructed a tomb for him".

CÆSAR, in traversing the plain of Troy, was walking inadvertently over a heap of stones and of turf, which no longer retained the shape of a tomb. "Stop, CÆSAR," cried his guide, "you are treading upon the ashes of HECTOR."

*Securus*

\* De Excidio Trojæ, cap. xxxv. See above, p. 40. note.

————— *Securus in alto*  
*Gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes*  
 HECTOREOS calcare vetat. —————

LUCAN. Pharf. ix. 975.

While careless and securely on they pass,  
 The Phrygian guide forbids to press the grass;  
 This place, he said, for ever sacred keep,  
 For here the sacred bones of HECTOR sleep.      ROWE.

PAUSANIAS, to whom we owe the fabulous account of the causes of the demolition of the tomb of AJAX, informs us also of the circumstance which gave occasion to the opening of HECTOR's. He says that the inhabitants of Thebes, in consequence of a response of the oracle, went, according to their own account, in quest of HECTOR's bones, and carried them away with them from Troy'.

VIRGIL takes a very ingenious method of pointing out the true situation of HECTOR's tomb. He tells us, " That ÆNEAS,  
 " on arriving at the coast of Epire, found there, to his great  
 " surprise, a city of Troy, a Scamander, a citadel and a Scæan  
 " gate<sup>2</sup>." And he had, a little before, made the hero relate  
 " his meeting with ANDROMACHE before the city, while she  
 " was offering to the ashes of HECTOR a solemn sacrifice and  
 " funeral oblations in a grove, watered by a stream to which  
 " she had given the name of Simois; and there she was in-  
 " voking

Q 2

<sup>1</sup> Græc. Descript. lib. ix. p. 569. Edit. Hanov. 1613.

<sup>2</sup> *Procedo, et parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis*  
*Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum*  
*Agnosco, Scæaque amplector limina portæ.*      Æn. iii. 349.



“ voking his shade by a cenotaph which she had constructed of  
 “ green turf to his memory, with two altars, the survey of  
 “ which fostered her grief, and furnished frequent cause for  
 “ her tears.” This unfortunate princess seeks in a new  
 country that consolation which she had lost in the old. She  
 gives to a brook which was dried up, the name of Scamander,  
 whose limpid waters are never exhausted, and whose banks are  
 adorned with flowers. She rears a cenotaph to HECTOR upon  
 the border of a counterfeit Simois. Her mournful recollections  
 excite her tears, and are too precious ever to admit a suspicion  
 of their sincerity. We may safely trust to this afflicted widow  
 the care of imitating the tomb of her beloved HECTOR; and  
 since ANDROMACHE weeps upon the borders of the counterfeit  
 Simois in Epirus, we may conclude, that the ashes of her hus-  
 band repose upon the borders of the real Simois in the plain  
 of Troy.

I MYSELF, Gentlemen, have seen those very shores of Epi-  
 rus where HELENUS formerly reigned. The plain of Butrinto,  
 which lies opposite to the island of Corfu, wonderfully resem-  
 bles the plain of Troy; and the village of Butrinto, like that  
 of Bounarbachì, is likewise situate on an eminence at the ex-  
 tremity of a plain environed with mountains, watered with  
 two small streams, and extending all the way to the sea.

THE description which HOMER himself has left of HEC-  
 TOR's funeral, agrees wonderfully with all those testimonies  
 which

• *Solennes tum forte dapes et tristia dona  
 Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam,  
 Libabat cineri ANDROMACHE, manesque vocabat  
 HECTORUM ad tumulum, viridi quem cespite inanem,  
 Et geminas, causam lacrymis, sacrauerat aras. Æn. iii. 301.*

which I have adduced. “ The body of the hero is first burn-  
 “ ed; the fire is then extinguished with wine ; his relations and  
 “ friends collect his ashes, and weep over them ; they inclose  
 “ them in a golden urn, and deposit them in a grave, which  
 “ they cover with a *great number of stones*, and upon which they  
 “ *raise a monument*’.”

CHAP.

————— αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ

Πυκνοῖσι λάεσσι κατεστέρας μεγάλοισι.

ῥίμφα δὲ σῆμ' ἔχουσιν, —

Iliad. xxiv. 797.

It is added,

————— περὶ δὲ σκοπεῖ ἕατο πάντα,

Μῆδ' ἔπειθ' ἰφορμηθῆεν ἱκνημίδες Ἀχαιοί

*Centinels were posted all around, lest the Greeks should invade them before the termination of the time.* For PRIAM, a little above, had told the Trojans, that previous to his leaving the tent of ACHILLES with the body of his son, that hero had promised not to molest the Trojans for the space of twelve days. *Ibid.* 781. Nine of these days had been employed in preparing and constructing the funeral pile in the plain in the front of the city ; and HOMER expressly says, that on the tenth day, the body of HECTOR was brought out, and laid on the pile without the walls. *Ibid.* 785. The reason of which is evident ; the burning of a body on a pile of such magnitude within the city, would have been extremely inconvenient on various accounts ; and as to the posting of centinels during the ceremony, the Trojans might be suspicious, that the enemy would not rigidly adhere to the promise made by ACHILLES to PRIAM. HOMER indeed is silent with respect to the precise spot where the ashes of HECTOR were deposited ; but PRIAM had said to ACHILLES, “ that they would bury him on the tenth day, raise a mound over him on the eleventh, and recommence hostilities on the twelfth, if that should be necessary.” *Ibid.* 665. As therefore one day was rather too short a time for the purpose of raising a Barrow over HECTOR, and as the employing of more time would have exposed the Trojans to the attack of the enemy, it may be concluded that this work was performed within the city, probably within the citadel. D.



## C H A P. XIX.

*The Sources of the Scamander.*

**I**N the description contained in my journal of the fountains which give rise to the smallest of the rivers in the plain of Troy, I mentioned that they are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Bounarbachî; and added that one of them, which is in a detached situation, and rises from the bottom of a basin bordered with pillars of marble and granite, is warm in winter and covered with smoke; whilst the other, which is formed by the union of a great number of small rills gushing from the foot of the adjacent hills, constantly preserves the same cold temperature'. Let us now see whether these marks correspond with the description which HOMER has given of the sources of the Scamander.

THESE, according to the Poet, were at no great distance from the city, since the Trojan women used to go thither "to wash their garments before the arrival of the Greeks". It likewise appears, that the very extraordinary phenomenon which distinguishes these two sources, had not escaped the observation of the great Poet. It is plain from the particular account which he gives of them, that he was no less struck with their singular difference than with their copiousness and their beauty;

\* See above, p. 25, 26.

† Iliad. xxii. 154.

beauty ; but the idea which he gives us of them is not altogether conformable to nature, or at least is not quite correctly expressed. “ The one of *these sources*,” says he, “ flows with a warm stream, and a smoke arising from it is diffused all around, as if it proceeded from a burning fire ; the other in the summer flows out cold as the hail, the chill snow, or the ice’.” The one of these sources is in reality warm and covered with smoke ; but it is not so *always*, as HOMER seems to insinuate ; it is only so in the *winter* ; and the other is always cold.

THE places all around the sources of the Scamander were covered with reeds very thick and very tall. It was there the young Trojan damsels were wont to bathe on occasion of their approaching nuptials ; and there the young CALLIRHOE was violated by CIMON, the dissipated Athenian, according to the adventure related in the tenth letter ascribed to ÆSCHINES ; which was the cause of the abrupt departure of that orator from the Troad ; a circumstance ever to be regretted, as it prevented him from entering upon a minute examination of the plain of Troy, and from giving the result of his enquiries to the world<sup>2</sup>.

FROM that letter, however, we may conclude, that the city of Troy still existed in the time of ÆSCHINES, that it was situate near the Scamander, that this river was then covered with

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxii. 149. See the original above, as quoted by STRABO, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 22. note, and p. 44. An abstract of this letter of ÆSCHINES has been given by Mr WOOD, Essay on HOMER, p. 2. also by BAYLE. Dict. artic. *Scamander*, remark [D], who has accompanied his account with a very curious commentary. Lady M. W. MONTAGUE has likewise alluded to this story in her xlvth letter. D.



with reeds, as it still is, and that ÆSCHINES expected to find the plain nearly in the same situation as HOMER has painted it.

It may likewise be remarked, that ATTALUS the wrestler, recorded in ÆSCHINES's letter, is the same who is mentioned in the inscription found among the ruins of the temple of Thymbræan APOLLO'.

If I were not afraid of appearing romantic, I would add, in describing the plain of Troy, that I found the Turkish women of the village of Bounarbachî washing their garments at the sources of the Scamander, as the wives and daughters of the Trojans were wont to do when they enjoyed the sweets of peace, before the arrival of the Greeks :

————— ὅθι εἴματα σιγαλόεντα  
Πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι, καλαί τε θύγατρες,  
Τοπρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν εἰλθεῖν ὕιας Ἀχαιῶν. Iliad. xxii. 154.

Where Trojan dames (e'er yet alarm'd by Greece)  
Wash'd their fair garments in the days of peace.

POPE.

C H A P.

' See above, p. 22.

## C H A P. XX.

*Achilles's Pursuit of Hector.*

**W**HEN ACHILLES is advancing to the attack of HECTOR at the Scæan gate<sup>1</sup>, the Grecian army is drawn up in battle array within view of the walls of Troy; the Trojans are reduced to the last extremity; the suspension of their ruin depends on HECTOR alone; the citizens are upon the walls facing the plain and the sources of the Scamander; PRIAM and HECUBA are upon the Scæan gate<sup>2</sup>; the whole force of the city is directed to the spot where the enemy threaten an attack; every breast trembles for the fate of the valiant HECTOR, who at that moment is the only bulwark they have to oppose to the victorious Greeks. ACHILLES advances to the combat; but HECTOR, dismayed at his appearance, betakes himself to flight<sup>3</sup>; and (if we are to depend upon the common opinion of HOMER's interpreters) directs his course *around* the walls of the great city of Troy<sup>4</sup>. Whenever he endeavours to make for the gate, or to approach the walls, ACHILLES turns him off towards the plain, and beckons to the Grecian troops to prevent them from making any attempt upon his life<sup>5</sup>.

R

THESE

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxii. 35. 131.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 76. 78.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 136.<sup>4</sup> Iliad. xxii. 144. 165.<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 194. 205.



THESE two warriors do not run for "a victim or a shield ; " the life of the noble HECTOR is at stake ;" that is to say, the safety or the ruin of Troy depends upon the fate of her hero. All his fellow-citizens, and his relations stand upon the walls, anxiously expecting to know to which side the balance of JUPITER will incline<sup>1</sup>. The career of the two warriors is the most critical period, and the most interesting spectacle, both for the Trojans and the Greeks ; it was impossible they should not be attentive to every single circumstance of it ; every step of HECTOR's progress, must needs have alarmed the inmost recesses of the heart of PRIAM and of HECUBA ; and the brave Myrmidons, on the other hand, with shouts must have prompted the speed of their Prince.

If these two warriors had retired from the fight of the armies, and continued their career quite round the walls of the great city of PRIAM, would the Scæan gate have been spared by the Grecian army ? No longer awed by the presence of their hero, and in a state of uncertainty respecting the fate of the two warriors, while out of their view at the opposite side of the city, would those troops have remained inactive ? And would they have been able to restrain their impatience till the chiefs should run no less than three times round the city ?

LET us now compare the combat of TURNUS and ÆNEAS with that of HECTOR and ACHILLES. The former engaged under the walls of Laurentum, between two armies which waited the decision of their fate with no less impatience. Let us observe the issue of this encounter, according to VIRGIL.

TURNUS

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxii. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 209. 412. 429.

TURNUS having resolved to engage ÆNEAS in single combat, and ÆNEAS being apprised of his resolution, they both prepare for the field. Early in the morning, the Rutulians and Trojans mark out the ground for the combatants, “under the walls of the great city’.”—“The anxious Matrons, the vulgar throng, and the feeble old men placed themselves upon the turrets and the roofs of the houses, and some stood aloft above the gates<sup>2</sup>.” JUNO from the top of a neighbouring mountain, “surveys the field, both the armies, and the city of LATINUS’.”

KING LATINUS, accompanied by TURNUS, and ÆNEAS by his son ASCANIUS, adjust the preliminaries of the combat, and enter into a treaty, which is confirmed by the solemn oaths of ÆNEAS and LATINUS. Meanwhile, JUTURNA, the sister of TURNUS, at the instigation of JUNO, prepares to effect a violation of the treaty, and to disconcert the projected combat. In consequence of this machinery, a battle takes place, ÆNEAS is wounded, and retires from the field. His wound is healed soon after by the assistance of VENUS; but TURNUS takes advantage of his absence, and makes dreadful havock among the troops of his rival. Various incidents are described by the Poet; ÆNEAS returns to the field, attacks the city of Lauren-

R 2

tum,

<sup>1</sup> ——— *magnæ sub mœnibus urbis.* Æn. xii. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Tum studio effusæ matres, et vulgus inermum,  
Invalidique senes, turres et tecta domorum  
Obsedere : alii portis sublimibus adsunt.* Ibid. 131.

<sup>3</sup> ——— *campum aspectabat, et ambas  
Laurentum Troumque acies, urbemque LATINI.* Ibid. 136.



tum, and sets fire to the houses nearest the rampart. TURNUS at last, in a fit of violence and despair, searches for his rival. " He advances close to the walls where the fury of the battle " rages, and the weapons are hissing through the air. He " beckons to the Rutulians with his hand, and calls aloud to " them to desist from the fight, declaring that the fortune of " the day, whatever it may be, concerns himself alone ; and that " it is incumbent upon him to fulfil the conditions of the " treaty for them all, by the decision of his own sword. Upon " this the troops divide, and open a large space between the " armies <sup>1</sup>." On perceiving this, ÆNEAS abandons his attack of the walls, and repairs to the combat with TURNUS. They engage ; and the attention of both the hosts is fixed entirely on the two Chiefs. JUPITER weighs their several fates in his balance, as he had, according to HOMER, formerly weighed those of HECTOR and ACHILLES. The sword of TURNUS (which was not his own, but that of his charioteer METISCUS, and which he had snatched up in a mistake) breaks in pieces on the divine armour of ÆNEAS. His only resource is flight ; and now the combatants, " ' as they run, *encircle the field five* " *times, and as often return upon the same ground* <sup>2</sup>."

TURNUS

<sup>1</sup> *Sic urbis ruit ad muros, ubi plurima fuso  
Sanguine terra madet, stridentque hostilibus aura;  
Significatque manu, et magno simul incipit ore :  
Parcite jam Rutuli; et vos tela inhibete LATINI :  
Quæcunque est fortuna, mea est : me verius unum  
Pro vobis fœdus luere, et discernere ferro.  
Discessere omnes medii, spatiumque dedere.* Æn. xii. 690.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinque orbes explent cursu, totidemque retexunt  
Huc, illuc, —————* Ibid. 763.

The

TURNUS at last stops near a wild olive consecrated to the god FAUNUS, just as HECTOR stops near the sources of the Scamander. If, in the engagement, HECTOR discharges his lance without effect against the divine armour of ACHILLES; if he calls on DEIPHOBUS to no purpose to give him another<sup>1</sup>; in like manner, TURNUS feels the treacherous sword break in pieces

The Poet adds,

———— *neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur  
Præmia, sed Turni de vita et sanguine certant.*

No light reward must crown the eager strife,  
The long-contended prize is TURNUS' noble life.      PITT.

This is an obvious imitation of the following lines of HOMER :

———— *ἰσὺ ἔχ' ἱερήιον, ἔδ' ἐβόειον  
Ἀγέσθην, ἃ, τι ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίνεται ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θύον Ἑκτορος ἰπποδάμοιο.*      Iliad. xxii. 159.

Swift was the course; no vulgar prize they play,  
No vulgar victim must reward the day;  
(Such as in races crown the speedy strife)  
The prize contended was great HECTOR's life.      POPE.

<sup>1</sup> ——— *χώρατο δ' Ἑκτωρ,  
Ὅττι ῥά οἱ βέλ' ὤκ' ἐτρώσιον ἔκφυγε χειρός·  
Στῇ δὲ κατηφής αἶς, ἔδ' ἄλλ' ἔχει μέλιτον ἰγχοῖ·  
Δηΐφοβον δ' ἐκάλει λιυκάσπειδα, μακρὸν αὖσας,  
Ἥτις μιν δόρυ μακρὸν· ὃ δ' ἔτι οἱ ἐγγίδειν ἦεν.*      Ib. 291.

———— resulting with a bound  
From off the ringing orb it struck the ground.  
HECTOR beheld his javelin fall in vain,  
Nor other lance, nor other hope remain;  
He calls DEIPHOBUS, demands a spear,  
In vain, for no DEIPHOBUS was there.      POPE.



pieces in his hand ; and he calls out for another to the troops, whom ÆNEAS attempts by menaces to intimidate<sup>1</sup>.

THIS circular flight of TURNUS when pursued by ÆNEAS, is not directed around Laurentum, but under the walls of that city, always on the same side, and within a space of ground, “ encompassed by the thick ranks of the Trojans, the walls of the city, and an extensive marsh<sup>2</sup> : ” — a circumstance which VIRGIL seems to have imagined, on purpose to produce for his combatants a field somewhat analogous to the plain of Troy, that they might thus be confined to the same scene, constantly exposed to the view of their countrymen ; and, in short, that his composition might preserve a consistency, free from every violation of probability and good taste.

WHY, it may be asked, did VIRGIL, after following his model so implicitly from the beginning of the episode, seem to deviate from him respecting the particular course in which his warriors ran ? Would he have ventured to correct his great original

<sup>1</sup> *Ille simul fugiens, Rutulos simul increpat omnes,  
Nomine quemque vocans; notumque efflagitat ensẽm.  
ÆNEAS mortem contra præsensque minatur  
Exitium, si quisquam adeat. —* Æn. xii. 758.

Thus flying in distress the Daunian lord  
Calls on his friends ; demands his trusty sword.  
But the great Trojan, with a lofty cry,  
Forbids the bands the weapon to supply.      PITT.

<sup>2</sup> *Undique enim densa Teuceri includere corond;  
Atque hinc vasta palus hinc ardua mœnia cingunt.*      Æn. xii. 744.

For here he views the embattled Trojan pow'rs ;  
Here a vast lake ; and there the Latian tow'rs.      PITT.

ginal in so material a circumstance? did his copy of the Iliad exhibit a reading different from those now extant? or, is the text of HOMER capable of such an explication as VIRGIL seems to have given it?

TAKING it for granted that the text has undergone no alteration, perhaps it may be possible to find in it a meaning similar to that which VIRGIL has expressed; and thus, at the same time, to vindicate the original from the charge of violating probability.

AFTER carefully examining the whole passage, I am persuaded that the difficulty in question proceeds entirely from the way of explaining the preposition *περὶ*, which often signifies *round* or *round about*; but is also used by other authors, as well as HOMER himself, to express the Latin *juxta*, *prope*, *ad*, or the English *near*, *beside*, *hard by*, thus marking *vicinity* in point of place'. If, instead of taking *περὶ* in the former sense, we should

\* THE flight of HECTOR has been the subject of censure on two accounts; *first*, as in itself inconsistent with the character of that hero; and, *secondly*, as absurd and improbable with respect to the manner in which it is understood to have been directed and continued; and the whole is generally considered, even by the greatest admirers of HOMER, as one of the most unaccountable incidents in the Iliad. Any attempt therefore to give a rational explication of it, seems entitled to indulgence.

As the conduct of the Poet in allowing HECTOR to give way to fear, and to betake himself to flight, does not fall within the subject of this paper, which professes only to exhibit the topography of HOMER respecting the scene of the Iliad, the reader is referred for satisfaction on that point to POPE's note upon the 180th line of the xxiid book of the translation. But as the ingenious author of this Memoir has assigned a situation for Ancient Troy incompatible with the idea of ACHILLES's pursuing HECTOR quite round the walls of that city, it was incumbent upon him to attempt some elucidation of that part of HOMER's description. This he has done, *1st*, by allowing and stating the improbability.



should adopt the latter, the difficulty is completely obviated; the combatants run in a circular direction *before* or *near* the city;

probability and absurdity of the two warriors running thrice round the city, even though it had been practicable: *2dly*, By supposing, from VIRGIL's imitation of HOMER in all the particulars of this incident, except the encompassing of the city, that the former of these great Poets did not understand the latter as affirming the race of the warriors to have been continued thrice, or at all round about the whole wall of Troy, but only to have been in a circular direction in the front of that city, nearly in the manner in which the race of ÆNEAS and TURNUS has been represented in the Æneid to have happened in the front of the city of Laurentum: and, *lastly*, By giving a meaning to the preposition *περὶ* calculated to support this notion.

Of the three cases which that preposition governs, the accusative is the only one to be considered here. For in speaking of the manner of HECTOR's flight, the Poet uses *περὶ* just five times; once in composition, and four times simply, always construed with the accusative. See Iliad. xii. 165. 168. 173. 230. 251.

THERE is no doubt that *περὶ*, when it governs this case, most commonly signifies in Latin, *circa*, *circum*; in English, *round*, *round about*, thus:

Σειρὴν μὲν κινεῖται περὶ ῥέον Οὐλυμποιο  
Δησαίμην·————

*And then I would bind a chain round the summit of Olympus.* Iliad. viii. 25.

———— περὶ νεκρὸν———— round about *the dead body*. Ibid. xvii. 412.

———— περὶ τ' ἀφ' ὧν ὀδόντας

Γίγνεται———— *The foam arises all around his teeth*. Ibid. xx. 168.

But *περὶ* is certainly used likewise to express an idea of *vicinity*, without that of complete *encompassing*; in which sense we sometimes also use the English preposition *about*; thus, when HECUBA asks HECTOR why he had left the battle, and come within the city? she adds, “Surely the hated Greeks bear hard upon thee, *Μαχόμενοι περὶ ἄστυ*, *fighting about the city, or near the city.*” Ibid. vi. 256. The Poet does not mean here that they were fighting *round* the city, but *about* the wall in the front of the city. HECTOR says to PARIS—

Λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι περὶ πόλιν. *The people are perishing near the city.* Ibid. 327.

city;—and thus there no longer remains any essential difference

- JUNO says to JUPITER, when he is deliberating whether he shall rescue SARPEDON from death ;

Πολλοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο μάχονται  
 ὣς ἀθανάτων·———— Iliad. xvi. 448.

For many sons of the immortal gods are fighting near the great city of PRIAM. POPE renders it, “ before proud Ilion.” The Poet, in a passage formerly quoted, (see above, p. 83.) mentions the different sorts of trees and shrubs—

Τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἄλγες ποταμοῖο πεφύκει. Iliad. xxii. 252.

which grow in abundance near or about the pure streams of the river. See likewise, Iliad. xxiv. 402. 548. Od. iii. 107. xi. 42.

CAN the preposition then bear this last sense in the different places where the Poet speaks of the flight of HECTOR ? In the first of these it occurs in composition :

ὣς τὼ τρεῖς Πριάμοιο πόλιν περιδινθήτην  
 Καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσιν·———— Iliad. xxii. 165.

Thus HECTOR and ACHILLES ran with nimble feet, thrice, in a circular direction, near the city of PRIAM, or fetched a compass thrice near the city, &c. Perhaps the verb Δινέω, which signifies *inftar vorticis circumago*, may be thought to favour this interpretation. We find this proposition next used simply, when JUPITER is represented as lamenting the fate of HECTOR :

ὦ πόποι, ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τείχος  
 ὄφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾶμαι·———— Ibid. 168.

Alas me ! that I should behold a favourite hero thus pursued near the wall—at the very wall, or, as PLATO quotes it, περὶ ἄστυ, near the city. De Republ. lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 388. Edit. SERRANI.

————— ἰ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς  
 ἄστυ περὶ Πριάμοιο ποσσὶν ταχίσσιν διώκει. Ibid. 173.

The noble ACHILLES, with nimble steps, is pursuing him at the city of PRIAM. And if this sense is admissible in these three passages, it must be so in the remaining two also See Ibid. 230. 251.—The following lines, attentively considered, may seem to confirm this explication :



rence betwixt these two parallel incidents in the *Iliad* and the

Ὅσσάκι δ' ἐρμήσιν πυλάων Δαρδανίαων  
 Ἀντίον αἰξασθαι, ἰϋδμήτους ἐπὶ πύργους,  
 Εἴπως οἱ καθύπερθεν ἀλάλκοιεν βάλισσι·  
 Τοσσάκι μιν προπάρειθιν ἀποσφριψάσκει παραφθὰς  
 Πρὸς πιδίον γ' αὐτὸς δὲ ποτὶ πτόλιν πίπτει' αἶψα. Ibid. 194.

*As often as HECTOR endeavoured to rush directly against the Dardanian gate* [the same with the Scæan gate, as has been already shewn, p. 119. note] *towards the strong-built turrets, expecting to be assisted with missile weapons from above; so often did ACHILLES contrive to intercept him, and drive him away to the plain; while ACHILLES himself was constantly trying to shun the city.* From this it would appear, that when HECTOR arrived at the sources of the Scamander, ACHILLES had driven him away from the wall, after which he continued to turn to the right; and in fetching a compass so as to get back again to the gate of the city, this necessarily brought him close to the Grecian army, which was drawn up in the plain, at a little distance to the north-west, near the banks of the Simois; and here, as the Poet tells us, “ACHILLES beckoned to the troops, to hinder them from discharging their mortal weapons at HECTOR as he passed, in case any of them should deprive him of the glory of slaying that warrior.” Ibid. 205. HECTOR then having thus approached the Grecian army, keeping them on his left, again passed the gate, and returned to the sources of the Scamander; and after being pursued thrice round, in the same circular direction, he stopped, on arriving the fourth time at the sources, the fatal spot where he was to perish by the hand of ACHILLES. Ibid. 208. That the course was directed in some such way as this, *near* the city, and not *round* the city, seems to be farther confirmed by an expression of the Poet, where he uses the preposition *πρὸς* or *πρὸς*, as synonymous with *περὶ*. ACHILLES is described as having laid himself down on the sea-shore, where sleep soon overpowered him; “for,” says HOMER, “his beautiful limbs were exceedingly fatigued with pursuing HECTOR *at* the airy Ilium:”

Ἐκτορ' ἰωαῖσσαν ΠΡΟΤΙ Ἴλιον ἡμιμέισσαν. Iliad. xxiii. 64.

If this is not altogether decisive, it must be at least allowed to have much weight in support of the argument.

In opposition, however, to the ingenious author's hypothesis, it still may be urged, that HOMER's meaning has universally been understood, even by ancient writers, to be, —That ACHILLES pursued HECTOR three times *round about* the walls of Troy. When PLATO is censuring HOMER for the improper manner in which he often represents the gods

the *Æneid*; and the great HOMER is vindicated from the charge

gods, he gives, as an instance, a part of JUPITER's speech already quoted: "Alas! that I should behold a favourite hero thus pursued *round* the city." De Republ. ubi supra. A little afterwards, when that philosopher doubts of the truth of ACHILLES having dragged the body of HECTOR round the tomb of PATROCLUS, he uses the expression, τὰς Ἑκτορος ἔλξας περὶ τὸ σῆμα τὸ Πατρόκλου, *the repeated dragging of HECTOR round the tomb of PATROCLUS*. It is not to be doubted that in both cases, he annexes the usual meaning of *round about* to the preposition. EURIPIDES makes ANDROMACHE say that ACHILLES dragged HECTOR περὶ τείχη, *round the walls*; and the Scholiast remarks, that this is contrary to the usual history, where it is said, "that HECTOR was only pursued *round* the walls by ACHILLES:" περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐδιώχθη ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλεύου ὁ Ἑκτωρ. ANDROM. ver. 108. We are told by QUINTUS CURTIUS, that ALEXANDER, in imitation of ACHILLES, from whom he was fond of deducing his origin, punished BETIS, the Governor of Gaza, by ordering his ankles to be pierced while he was yet breathing; and after he was thus bound with thongs to the chariot, "the horses dragged him *round* the city," *circa urbem*. Lib. iv. cap. vi. In these passages, and others that might be quoted, it must be owned that περὶ and *circa* are used in the common acceptance, and mean in English *round* or *round about*. Add to this, that VIRGIL himself, in his description of the figure of ACHILLES, as seen by ÆNEAS in the picture in the temple of JUNO at Carthage, says:

*Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat HECTORA muros*

*Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat ACHILLES.* Æn. i. 483.

VIRGIL here evidently means that "ACHILLES had dragged the dead body of HECTOR *thrice round about* the walls of Troy;" though this is a circumstance no where to be found in HOMER. (See HEYNE's note, and his Excursus at these lines.) Several other ancient poets mention the dragging of HECTOR's body around the walls of Troy, as EURIPIDES in the passage already quoted, (see DRELIN. HOM. ACHIL. No. 337. p. 67.); but no one of them, except VIRGIL, speaks of the number of times. DRELINCOURT therefore concludes it to be a fiction of VIRGIL. "Stet ergo VIRGILII id figmentum esse, quo Hectorum cadaver raptaret *ad numerum*." AUSONIUS is the only ancient writer who has followed VIRGIL in this: "HECTOR interfectus, et religatus ad currum, ter *circum mœnia Trojana raptatur*." *Perioch. 22. Iliad*. "But this," says a commentator, "agrees not with HOMER. For in the xxiii<sup>d</sup> book of the Iliad, the Poet tells us, that HECTOR was pursued thrice round the Trojan walls just before his death, by A-



charge of a deficiency in point of taste, which ought to

“ CHILLES, for whom he was not a match ; but that, after he was vanquished and slain by  
 “ ACHILLES, he was dragged by the feet straight to the ships. In the xxivth book indeed he says that HECTOR was *thrice* dragged by ACHILLES round the tomb of PATROCLUS, but not round the walls of Troy. Whence proceeds this variety ? Did the  
 “ genuine copies of HOMER state the thing differently ? Have VIRGIL and AUSONIUS  
 “ taken this circumstance from some other author than HOMER ? Have they inaccurately transferred what passed at the tomb of PATROCLUS to the walls of Troy ?” *Note on the above passage, from the Edit. of AUSON. in usum Delph.* See also the note of the elegant BROUKHUSIUS ad PROPERT. lib. iii. eleg. i. 28. From all this it may be inferred that VIRGIL, though he imagined it practicable for ACHILLES even to drive his chariot quite round the Trojan walls, yet declined imitating HOMER by making his two warriors run round the walls of Laurentum, solely because that circumstance must have appeared to him awkward and improbable. It appears indeed that VIRGIL did not always adhere strictly to HOMER’s poetical method of representing facts, but often followed other ancient authors where they differed from HOMER. See this proved by the celebrated HEYNE, in his first Excursus at the iid Book of the Æneid.

WHEREFORE, after all, many may still be disposed to acquiesce in the opinion of ARISTOTLE, who in stating the difference betwixt Epic poetry and Tragedy, has said: *Δὲ μὲν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις κ. τ. λ.* De Poet. p. 89. Edit. WINSTANL. “ The *surprising* is necessary in Tragedy ; but the Epic poem goes farther, and admits even the *improbable* and *incredible*, from which the highest degree of the surprising results, because there the action is not seen. The circumstances, for example, of the pursuit of HECTOR by ACHILLES, are such as upon the stage would appear ridiculous ;—the Grecian army standing still, and taking no part in the pursuit, and ACHILLES making signs to them, by the motion of his head, not to interfere. But in the Epic poem this escapes our notice. Now the *wonderful* always pleases ; as is evident from the additions which men always make in relating any thing in order to gratify the hearers.” Mr TWINING’s *new Transl.* p. 118. At the same time, it is remarkable that ARISTOTLE does not say here that ACHILLES pursued HECTOR round the walls of Troy ; his words are—*τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑκτορος διώξιν*, the circumstances relating to the pursuit of HECTOR ; which seem rather to favour the idea of the flight being directed in the circular manner already described. The Critic founds his notion of the incredibility of the incident upon the Grecian army standing still, and ACHILLES nodding to them with his head. He never seems to suppose, that HOMER represents the chiefs out of sight, on the farther side of the city.

SOME

to be imputed solely to the unskilfulness of his Translators.

## C H A P.

SOME may be willing to join with POPE, who found himself under the necessity of abandoning this incident to the fury of the critics. "I really think," says he, "almost  
 " all those parts of HOMER which have been objected against with most clamour and fury,  
 " are honestly defensible, and none of them (to confess my private sentiment) seem to  
 " me to be faults of any consideration, except the conduct in the death of PATROCLUS,  
 " the length of NESTOR's discourse in lib. xi. the speech of ACHILLES's horse in the nine-  
 " teenth, the conversation of that hero with ÆNEAS in lib. xx. and the manner of HEC-  
 " TOR's flight round the walls of Troy, lib. xxii." *Note at the conclusion of Book xvi.*  
 Such as agree with POPE on this occasion will naturally derive additional support from  
 the well known verses of HORACE :

*Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis*

*Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,*

*Aut humana parum cavit natura. — Ars Poet. 351.*

And they may add, if they will, the peroration of the animated account of the great Poet, which the learned and eloquent Abbé BARTHELEMY puts into the mouth of his Scythian : " Let those who are able to resist the beauties of HOMER, brood over his de-  
 " fects. For why should we dissemble ? he frequently reposes himself, and sometimes  
 " he slumbers ; but his repose is like that of the eagle, who, after having traversed his  
 " vast aerial domains, sinks, overwhelmed with fatigue, upon a lofty mountain ; and his  
 " sleep resembles that of JUPITER, who, according to HOMER himself, awakes in the act  
 " of launching the thunder " . *Voyage du Jeune ANACHARSIS en Grece. Tom. i. p. 57.*  
 Edit. in 4to. D.

• Iliad. xv. 377.



## C H A P. XXI.

*The Tombs of Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus.*

**T**HE dullest observer, even the common sailor, is struck with those eminences of a conical shape ranged upon the coast, which successively attract his notice as he advances in the Hellespont. Those monuments must necessarily have been destined for some purpose. Masses of such a magnitude are not piled up without some sort of object in view. The Turks, who have no doubt received the tradition from the Greeks, pretend that they are the tombs of ancient Sultans and Viziers; that is to say of ancient Kings and Generals: for it is well known, that the Turks, as well as other nations, give the same appellation to all Sovereigns and Chiefs which they give to their own. The Sultans and the Viziers were never buried in the manner of the Grecian warriors. At Bursa, at Magnesia, at Constantinople, and in all the towns where they have resided, their ashes repose in magnificent Mosques, almost all of which they have erected in their own lifetime.

Dr Pococke has given a wrong explication of this tradition of the Turks. If he had annexed the true meaning to it, his doubts would have been removed, and he would have judged with less diffidence respecting the monuments of the Troad'.

PLINY,

\* A Description of the East, Vol. ii. part ii. p. 29. 119, 120. See also above, p. 101.

PLINY, STRABO, PAUSANIAS, DIO CHRYSOSTOM, and many other ancient authors, mention, as I have already said, that in their days the tombs of the Grecian warriors were distinctly to be seen on the shores of the Hellespont. These monuments then had resisted the inclemency of the seasons more than a thousand years. The veneration of the nations, as well as their own solidity, had secured them from destruction. Why might they not endure two thousand years longer, especially as those who afterwards became masters of the country where they were to be seen, have been inspired with as great a veneration for the sepulchres of the dead as the people whom they have supplanted?

It is not in the least surprising then that the two celebrated English travellers who preceded me in the Troad, were not afraid, the one of them to suppose, and the other to affirm boldly that the monuments in question still exist.

BUT though I had not been directed in my researches by all the travellers both ancient and modern, the precision with which HOMER describes the situation, the construction and form of these monuments, and the confidence with which he seems to prophesy their everlasting duration, were sufficient to guide me to their discovery, and to authorise me to believe in their present existence. Let us attend to the words of ACHILLES when he is giving orders respecting the funeral of PATROCLUS:

Τύμβον δ' εἰ μάλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ πονέεισθαι ἄνωγα,

Ἄλλ' ἐπισικέα τοῖον ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀχαιοὶ

Εὐρύν θ' ὑψηλὸν τε τιθήμεναι, οἳ κεν ἐμεῖο.

Δεύτεροι ἐν νήεσσι πολυκλήϊσι λίπυσθαι.

*But*

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. xxiii. 245.



*But it is my command that a tomb be made—not of the largest sort, but of an ordinary size: and afterwards such of you Greeks as shall survive me, and remain in the well equipped fleet, may construct one both broad and lofty<sup>1</sup>. AGAMEMNON, in giving an account to ACHILLES, in the infernal regions, of the ceremonies which had been observed at his funeral, proceeds thus:*

————— δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ  
 Χρῦσειον ἀμφιφορῆα· Διονύσοιο δὲ δῶρον  
 Φάσκ' ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ ᾧ κλυτὴ Ἥφαιστοιο·  
 'Εν τῷ τοι κῆται λεύκ' ὀσέα, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 Μίγδα δὲ, Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντῳ·  
 Χαρὶς δ', Ἀντιλόχοιο· τὸν ἔξοχα τίς ἀπάντων  
 Τῶν ἄλλων ἱτάρων, μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα,  
 'Αμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον,  
 Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν,  
 Ἀκλῆ ἐπὶ πρὸς χέση, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ·  
 Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη  
 Τοῖς, οἳ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

Odyss. xxiv. 73.

We then collect thy snowy bones, and place  
 With wines and unguents in a golden vase,

(The

<sup>1</sup> " THE Barrow erected by ACHILLES, over his friend PATROCLUS, was reckoned but  
 " a very moderate one, though it exceeded 100 feet in diameter, it being constructed  
 " round the funeral pile, which was 100 feet each way. (Ibid. 16.) But this was  
 " owing to the particular order of ACHILLES, who commanded that it should be made  
 " no larger until he himself came to lie down with his friend in the same sepulchre; for  
 " then it was to be made higher and wider." BORLASE'S *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 218.  
 2d Edit.

(The vase to THETIS BACCHUS gave of old,  
 And VULCAN's art enrich'd the sculptur'd gold)  
 There we thy relics, great ACHILLES ! blend  
 With dear PATROCLUS, thy departed friend :  
 In the same urn a sep'rate space contains  
 Thy next belov'd, ANTILOCHUS' remains.  
 Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround  
 Thy destined tomb, and cast a mighty mound :  
 High on the shore the growing hill we raise,  
 That wide the extended Hellespont surveys ;  
 Where all, from age to age, who pass the coast  
 May point ACHILLES' tomb, and hail the mighty ghost.

POPE.

The image of the tombs of great men has something affecting in it which always interests the heart. HOMER, who was well acquainted with all the sources of sensibility, failed not to avail himself of a circumstance from which he had reason to expect the most powerful influence upon the heart of his readers. Observe how often he recalls the remembrance of these mournful monuments, and with what effect he describes them. He seems to behold in distant prospect the burning of the incense in the sacrifices which were to be offered there ; to hear the sighs breathed, and to see the tears shed by the travellers who were one day to visit them<sup>1</sup>.

WHEN HECTOR challenges the Grecian heroes to single combat, he appears betwixt the two armies, and proposes the conditions of the engagement :

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<sup>1</sup> See STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 891. Edit. Amst. 1707. DABLIN. HOM. ACHIL. No. 299, 300.



Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δῶη δὲ μοι εὖχῃ Ἀπόλλων,  
 Τεύχεα συλήσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν,  
 Καὶ κρεμόω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο·  
 Τὸν δὲ νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆας εὐστέλμευ ἀποδώσω,  
 Ὅφρα ἰταρχύσωσι καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ,  
 Σῆμα τέ οἱ χεύσωσιν ἐπὶ πλάϊ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ·  
 Καὶ πότ' εἴησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνδράπων,  
 Νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·  
 Ἄνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι καλεῖσθ' Ἰνὸν,  
 Ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ.  
 Ὡς ποτὲ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος ἔποτ' ὀλῆται.

Iliad. vii. 81.

And if APOLLO, in whose aid I trust,  
 Shall stretch your daring champion in the dust ;  
 If mine the glory to despoil the foe ;  
 On PHOEBUS' temple I'll his arms bestow ;  
 The breathless carcase to your navy sent,  
 Greece on the shore shall raise a monument ;  
 Which when some future mariner surveys,  
 Wash'd by broad Hellespont's resounding seas,  
 Thus shall he say, " A valiant Greek lies there,  
 By HECTOR slain, the mighty man of war."  
 The stone shall tell your vanquish'd hero's name,  
 And distant ages learn the victor's fame'.

POPE.

HOMER expressly informs us, that such was the sort of monument erected for PATROCLUS and ACHILLES, and that it was situate upon the sea-shore. " Those," says he, " who were  
 " charged

' See A. GELLII Noct. Att. lib. xv. c. 6.

“ charged with the providing of wood for the funeral pile of  
 “ PATROCLUS executed their task properly ; and they arranged  
 “ the wood in due order upon the shore, *where ACHILLES had*  
 “ *pitched upon the spot for a spacious sepulchre for PATROCLUS, and*  
 “ *also for himself*’.” He afterwards describes the construction  
 and the shape of the monument. “ The chiefs,” says he,  
 speaking of the tomb of PATROCLUS, “ marked out the circu-  
 “ lar form of the monument, laid the foundations of it around  
 “ the pile, and immediately heaped up the ductile earth, and  
 “ returned when they had finished their work’.”

I DWELL with the greatest pleasure upon this description,  
 the particulars of which contribute so effectually towards esta-  
 blishing the authenticity of the antiquities of which I am  
 speaking. “ They formed the monument of a circular  
 “ shape’ ;”—indeed all the tombs of the plain of Troy are of  
 a circular shape :—“ they then laid the foundations’.” This  
 shews that there was an internal fabric, and HOMER points out

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its.

’ Iliad. xxiii. 123.

” “ THERE is a passage in HOMER which very happily (though no where, as I remem-  
 “ ber, taken notice of by commentators) expresses the diligence and expedition with  
 “ which they worked on such sepulchres :

————— εἰθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἰπὶ γαῖαν ἵχυσαν·

Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον. ——— Iliad. xxiii. 256.

“ Where χυτὴν, ἵχυσαν, χεύαντες—come so thick on the back of one the other, on purpose  
 “ to express the quickness and activity with which the soldiers poured out their helmets  
 “ full of earth one upon the other, in order to complete the Barrow as soon as possible.”  
 BORLASE’S Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 215. 2d Edit.

’ Τορῶσαντο δὲ σῆμα. ——— Iliad. xxiii. 255.

” ——— θείμελιδ τι προβάλλοντο ——— Ibid.



its use: "they pour out loose earth upon this fabric". This earth, whose moveable quality is well expressed by the term *χυτή*,\* would easily have crumbled down, and could not long have resisted the injuries of the air, if particular care had not been taken to support it by a cone of masonry<sup>2</sup>.

THIS curious mass of earth, raised by the hands of the Greeks, still exists. It is not now surrounded with elms, as it once was; the place of these is now occupied with tall poplars, and mournful cypresses<sup>3</sup>, still more gloomy, and better adapted to the nature of sepulchres.

Dr CHANDLER with reason looks upon the tomb near to Jeni-chehr, on the summit of the promontory, to be that of ANTILOCHUS; but I know not what induced him to think that the one next it is that of PENELEUS. Be that as it will, it is probable, if we attend to HOMER's description, that the two monuments raised to PATROCLUS and ANTILOCHUS, contain nothing, and are mere cenotaphs, as the ashes of these two warriors

<sup>1</sup> ——— ἰθάγε δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσαν Iliad. xxiii. 256.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 108.

\* *Linguenda tellus, et domus, et placens*

*Uxor: neque harum, quas colis arborum*

*Te, præter invisas cupressos,*

*Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.* HOR. Lib. ii. Od. 14.

Thy pleasing confort must be left,

And Thou of villas, lands bereft,

Must to the shades descend;

The *Cypress* only, hated tree!

Of all Thy much-lov'd groves, shall Thee,

Its short-liv'd lord attend.

FRANCIS.

warriors were put into the same urn with those of ACHILLES, and deposited in the same tomb.

FULL of this idea, and induced moreover by the magnitude of the barrow, which is the nearest to the sea, as well as by the singular name of *Dios-Tapé, the divine Tomb*, still given to it by the Greek inhabitants of the Sigéan promontory, I previously pitched upon this as the most proper subject for the operation of digging which I advised.

AFTER my departure from Constantinople, means were found, by the help of some presents made to the commanding Officers of the neighbouring fort, to accomplish this undertaking, in spite of the vigilance of the Turks. Towards the centre of the monument, two large stones were found leaning at an angle the one against the other, and forming a sort of tent, under which was presently discovered a small statue of MINERVA, seated in a chariot with four horses; and an Urn of Metal filled with ashes, charcoal and human bones'. This Urn, which is now in the possession of the Comte de CHOISEUL, is encircled in sculpture with a vine branch, from which are suspended bunches of grapes done with exquisite art.

WHETHER these are the ashes of ACHILLES, I pretend not to say; but most certainly they are the relics of some personage who paid a particular veneration to MINERVA, since they are accompanied with a statue of that goddess. Besides, he must have died in an age of the world when it was the practice to burn dead bodies, since here are to be seen ashes, charcoal and bones,

\* "In most of the barrows which have been examined by the curious, they have found "Urn." BORLASE, p. 220. See the excellent chapter on Urn-burial by the same Author, p. 233.



bones, still very distinguishable. When therefore I behold the Urn of metal<sup>1</sup> adorned with vine-branches, I own I find it very difficult to prevent myself from thinking of that famous Urn, the gift of BACCHUS, and the workmanship of VULCAN, which THETIS gave to her son, and in which the Greeks deposited the ashes of their hero<sup>2</sup>.

BUT

<sup>1</sup> “ THE Urns designed to contain human bones were sometimes of gold, silver, brass, marble or glass, but are generally of pottery ware. PATROCLUS’s was of gold, Iliad. xxiii. 253. CORINEUS’s of brass, ÆN. vi. 226.” BORLASE, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> A classical imagination naturally indulges itself in these pleasing fancies; especially when HOMER, who lived long after the siege of Troy, is found in other respects to be so exact in describing circumstances which he must have known only from oral tradition. Indeed he himself says :

Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀπόομεν, εἰδὲ τι ἴδμεν. Iliad. ii. 486.

We, wretched mortals! lost in doubts below,  
But guess by rumour, and but boast we know. POPE.

An Urn of bronze, in the language of poetry, might be an Urn of gold, the present of one god, the workmanship of another, and, like the divine armour of the hero whose ashes it was to inclose, obtained by the request of a goddess.

It may be amusing to trace the ancient poetical history of this Urn. When ACHILLES had agreed to dismiss his Myrmidons to the field with PATROCLUS, clad in his armour, at their head; as part of the ceremony on this important occasion, “ he entered his tent, and opened an elegant coffer of exquisite workmanship, which the silver-footed THETIS, after having stored it well with tunics, with cloaks to shelter him from the blast, and with shaggy tapestry, had put on board his ship to be carried along with him. Within this coffer he had a Cup *nicely finished*,—

—Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ δίπας ἴσχε τετυγμένον—

“ out of which no man but himself had ever drunk the ruddy wine, and from which he poured a libation to no god but to Jove Supreme. Having taken this from the coffer, he first purified it with sulphur, and then rinsed it in the pure stream of running water. His own hands he likewise washed; and having drawn some wine, he stood in the centre  
“ tre.

BUT how, it will be asked, have these ashes been so long preserved? how have they resisted the inclemency of the seasons  
for

“tre of his own district of the camp, and, with his eyes fixed on heaven, he prayed, and  
“poured the libation.” Iliad. xvi. 221.

WHEN the ghost of PATROCLUS appeared to ACHILLES, and demanded from him the rites of sepulture, he begs also that his ashes may not be separated from those of his beloved friend, but that “the same vase may contain the bones of both,—*I mean the*  
“golden URN,” says he, “*which thy venerable mother gave thee.*”—

Χρυσὸν ἀμφιφοῖνός, τὸν τοι πόσις πότνια μήτηρ. Iliad. xxiii. 92.

AGAMEMNON says to ACHILLES, in giving him an account, in the regions below, of the manner in which the Greeks had performed his funeral obsequies; “After the fire of  
“VULCAN had demolished thy body, we collected thy white bones in the morning, bedewing them with pure wine and ointment: *thy mother had given thee a golden URN*:  
“it was *the gift*, she said, of BACCHUS, and the *workmanship of the illustrious VUL-*  
“CAN:—in this, O most renowned ACHILLES! are deposited thy white bones, and those  
“of PATROCLUS the son of MENOETIUS mingled together; and those of ANTILOCHUS  
“apart, of all men after the death of PATROCLUS thy greatest favourite.” Od. xxiv. 71.  
See the original, with POPE’s version, quoted above, p. 144.

LYCOPHRON makes mention also of this Urn, which he calls *Κεαρῆα Βάκχου*, *the cup of BACCHUS*; Cassand. 273. and the Greek Scholiast on the passage, gives the following curious account of it. “BACCHUS,” says he, “the son of JUPITER and SEMELE, having  
“got purification from RHEA in Phrygia, and obtained every sort of equipment from the  
“goddess, set out on his travels over the whole earth; and having come into Thrace,  
“LYCURGUS the son of DRYAS drove him out of the country by means of a wasp or  
“gad-fly, which infested both him and his nurses. Being thus terrified, he dived into  
“the sea, and was hospitably received by THETIS, to whom he gave a *golden Urn*, in  
“which the bones of ACHILLES, PATROCLUS and ANTILOCHUS were afterwards deposited.” HOMER himself, in the speech of DIOMEDE to GLAUCUS, mentions the story of LYCURGUS having assaulted BACCHUS. Iliad. vi. 130. And the Scholiast, in a note on the 92d verse of the xxiii<sup>d</sup> book of the Iliad, informs us, “That BACCHUS having entertained  
“VULCAN in the isle of Naxos, one of the Cyclades, got from him a present of a golden  
“Urn. Being afterwards persecuted by LYCURGUS, and having taken refuge in the sea,  
“he was kindly received by THETIS, to whom he gave the Urn, and she presented it to  
“her son, that his bones might be deposited in it after his death.” See Hom. Iliad. ad Vet. cod. Ven. fid. recens. cum Schol. Ant. nuper edit. a doctissimo VILLOISON. QUIN-



for more than three thousand years? It may be answered, because they were not exposed to the influence of the weather. The vault under which they were found, was covered with an immense stratum of fine sand, upon which there was spread another still thicker of clay, and over all a high hill was reared. By these means, the Urn was secured against all humidity and contact with the air, which are the two great causes of dissolution.

“BUT that is not sufficient,” adds the celebrated author of *The Travels of Anacharsis*, the learned and virtuous Abbé BARTHELEMY; “those clusters of grapes attached to the Urn, are executed in a style of excellence which accords not with the age of HOMER.” To this objection I might answer with BOULANGER, that “the age of HOMER, whatever it might be, was followed by many ages of ignorance, amidst the dust of which his book was with difficulty preserved, and during which the author himself was forgotten.” Of that author, such as he still appears to be, I might say, that he could only have appeared in an enlightened age, since he displays a sublime genius, embellished with most extensive knowledge; and

TUS Calaber, otherwise COINTUS Smyrnæus, mentions this vase very particularly: “His friends,” says he, “with lamentation, collected all his bones into a capacious and massy Urn of silver, but it was all over decorated with splendid gold:”—*χρυσῇ δὲ διαυγείᾳ πᾶσι λείαντο*. Lib. iii. 728. It is remarkable that COINTUS does not say that the Urn was of gold, but only of silver exquisitely gilt, or somehow adorned with gold. He adds too, a little after, “that ACHILLES’s mother gave it to him, having herself received it from BACCHUS, and that it was the workmanship of VULCAN.” Ibid. 733. PHOTIUS mentions from HEPHÆSTION, another golden Urn, with a CUPID carved upon it, (*ἰγγιγλυμμένον*) which VENUS gave to THETIS on her marriage with PELEUS. *Biblioth. col. 488*. Edit. Gen. 1612. See also DRELIN. ACHIL. HOM. No. 288. D.

<sup>1</sup> In a conversation with the author of this Memoir at Paris. D.

<sup>2</sup> Recherches sur l’origine du despotisme, iide partie.

and since the language of Greece possesses in the Iliad a degree of beauty, elegance and perfection, which only could be the result of a very advanced state of improvement in commerce, in the Arts and in Letters.

HOWEVER, that I may not, by any hypothesis which may seem ill founded, give umbrage to the Learned ; that I may not run any risk of contradicting the annals, the marbles and the chronology of Greece, we may, I imagine, at least be allowed to compare the degree of civilization of the Greeks in the time of HOMER, and even of ACHILLES, with that of the Turks in our own times. The former, though very ignorant of the Arts, carried on a commerce with Egypt and Asia, as the Turks do with France and with England. I have seen in the possession of several Pachas, both pendulum clocks and globes, and I never on that account suspected them of being astronomers. ACHILLES might purchase a shield from an Egyptian, as a Janizary buys a firelock from an Englishman ; and he might have had in his possession an Urn of exquisite workmanship, procured in some such manner, and in which his friends might have deposited his ashes.

To those who ask whether I have found any inscriptions on the tombs of the Troad, I answer, that it does not appear for certain that inscriptions, in written characters, were in use in the time of the Trojan war ; for HOMER makes no mention of any such'. But the verses of a great Poet, when they describe the situation and the shape of a monument whose awful solidity

U and.

\* If there had been any such, it behoved them to be of the same sort with those *σφαιρα λυγρε*, which PROETUS sent with BELLEROPHON into Lycia. See Iliad vi. 168. Also Transf. of the Royal Society of Edin. Vol. ii. p. 114. Lit. Cl. D.



and fize protect it from the injuries of time, are inscriptions more durable than those on a plate of marble or of brass. HOMER trusted that the tombs which he celebrated, would partake of the immortality of his descriptions; and he sung—

Τοῖς, οἱ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται<sup>1</sup>.

—to those now born, and to those who shall hereafter exist.

IF these evidences, Gentlemen, are sufficient to remove all your doubts respecting the existence of those precious remains of Antiquity, I shall have reason to expect the confidence of all the Learned; and I indulge myself with the pleasing hope, that when the Royal Society of Edinburgh shall have pronounced a favourable judgment concerning the authenticity of those famous monuments, all the Academies of Europe will be eager to adopt it; and enlightened travellers of all nations, whom business or curiosity may conduct to the Hellespont, will consider it as incumbent upon them, by a new veneration paid to the tombs of the heroes of the Iliad, to make some amends for the criminal oblivion in which barbarism has involved them for so many ages.

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xxiv. 84.

# I N D E X.

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# E R R A T A.

Page 117. line 4. *for* forty, *read* thirty.  
 132. 8. from the bottom, *for* *hostilibus* *read* *bastilibus*.  
 136. 16. *for* xii. *read* xxii.

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